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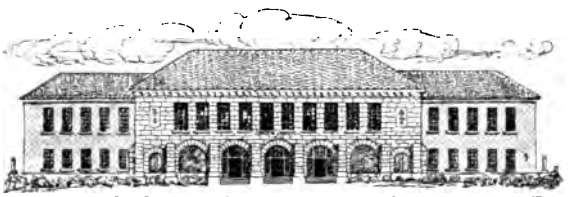

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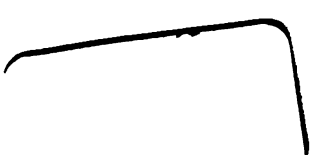

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University of Berlin.

UNIVERSITIES OF THE WORLD

BY

CHARLES FRANKLIN THWING, LL.D.

PRESIDENT OF WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY
AND ADELBERT COLLEGE

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INTRODUCTION

THE worth of education in the world's civilization increases. This worth belongs chiefly to two forms, — the scientific and the collegiate. The increase in the appreciation of scientific training rises largely from the development of the resources of the earth; the increase in the appreciation of the higher education has its origin in several causes.

One origin lies in the greater complexedness of civilization. That civilization has, with aggressive peoples, ceased to be simple, is evident enough. From the life rural to the life urban, from a life of few needs and fewer supplies for these needs to a life of many apparent needs and of corresponding supplies, from a life of narrow responsibilities and of small relations, both in number and diversity, to a life of responsibility and of large relations, numerous and important, the world has passed and is continuing to pass. Such a condition, for its going on, requires a mind trained, affluent in knowledge, discerning,

able to weigh evidence, and qualified to point out the proper course of progress. Such training and such power the university is established to give.

The increasing competitions of modern life also represent a cause of the growth of the university spirit. These competitions are increasing in number and intensity. They arise in no small part from the shrinking of the globe. The swifter steamships and more numerous of the West and of the Far East, bearing mail and commodities as well as persons, the commonness of the telegraph over land and under sea, bringing men closer together, prepare the way for keener and more constant rivalries. For carrying such competitions to a successful issue, the vigorous personality, the foreseeing and efficient administrator, the economist, the linguist, the gentleman of both force and appreciation is the essential and necessary factor. Men of such character are the natural product of the university.

It is also to be said that the world, or at least that part of it known as North America and Western Europe, is becoming aware of the need of conservation of its natural resources. Wastefulness has characterized the development of civilization; wastefulness can no longer character-

ize the development of civilization, or, if it do, civilization itself will presently become a waste. Preservation of forest, of field, of mine, and of water supply represents judgment and wisdom, forcefulness, economic efficiency, and efficient economy, enthusiasm in relation to the coöperation of men, quickening and inspiring leadership. The creation of these great powers and superb qualities embodies the aims which the university seeks to achieve.

By reason of the presence of these three elements, — the increasing complexedness of civilization, the increasing competitions of civilization, the increasing sense of the need of conservation of natural resources, — the education which the colleges and universities of the world seek to give becomes of greater worth and of widening relationships.

In this enlargement, the universities of the world easily fall into four classes. This classification cannot be made exact, but it does serve to represent the variety and the value of the world's higher education.

One class, and perhaps the more normal, has for its purpose the discovery and the publication of the truth. The schools of this class are devoted to learning and to scholarship. The laboratory and the library are their tools;

and observation represents their method. The universities which are called rather by the social than by the geographical name of German are the more conspicuous members of this class. They represent the most impressive form of the higher education of modern times.

A second class is the type which has for its primary purpose the development of character through the power of thinking. Scholarship finds its place, too, in this class, but less dominantly. The aim is rather intellectual and ethical; the aim is personal, directed toward the individual. The purpose is to train the individual unto a power of thinking and of thinking with depth, breadth, and height, comprehensively, cubically. The universities of this type find their best embodiment in the Scottish universities and in those of the United States of America. These institutions are not primarily great scholastic forces, but they do stand for great means and methods for the development of character through the training of the power of thinking.

A third type has for its real, though seldom spoken of, purpose the making of the gentleman. This purpose is not the object of public proclamation. Such proclamation would be ridiculous and result in a lack of achieve-

ment; but the universities of this class do use scholarship and disciplined thinking as methods of creating men who are interpreted by the word gentleman, — in whom the intellect, the heart, the conscience, the will, and the æsthetic faculty are so blended and made so harmonious that they become at home in any society. Oxford and Cambridge are the finest examples of this type. Certain American colleges are also emphasizing the worth of this type more deeply than in the early times.

It is a far cry to the fourth type of the university, a cry far in place and in function. This class seeks to train men of efficiency; its members endeavor to make graduates who are able to earn their living. In this respect they are like all other professional schools, and especially like schools of engineering. Of course the efficiency is of a liberal sort, and the living, for earning which the opportunity is given, is of large relations. The universities of this class belong especially to the Far East. They are found in India, China, Japan. The reason is not far to seek. The means of subsistence are so small, the margin dividing starvation from bare existence so narrow, that every force must be utilized, every method employed, which shall add a crumb to the food or a thread to the

garment. The Universities of Tokyo, of Calcutta, of Peking represent this type of efficiency.

The characteristics of all the universities of each of these four classes are, of course, found in less or greater degree in every university. No precise demarkation can be made. The institution which is primarily designed to promote scholarship also develops the power of thinking, trains the gentleman, and promotes efficiency. The university which results in training the gentleman is also scholastic, promotes thoughtfulness, and should result in efficiency. Each university of each of the four types represents characteristics of other universities of the other types.

Examples of these types are found in this volume, although it was not by any means written to illustrate these types. Rather the book was written to give some idea, however imperfectly outlined, or inadequately presented, of the higher education of the world. I may add that each of the twenty universities considered I have visited and studied in its own *habitat* with the single exception of Melbourne, and in preparing this sketch I had the advantage of many conferences with its distinguished Dean, Professor Tucker. These chapters were usually written

at the time of my visit, and their writing covers years not a few.

My acknowledgments are due to Harper & Brothers for permission to use in this volume articles which have appeared in their *Magazine* and in the *North American Review*, and to the *Independent* for a similar courtesy.

C. F. T.

Western Reserve University,
Cleveland.

UNIVERSITIES OF THE WORLD

I

OXFORD

It has been said that French history could be written in epigrams. An interpretation of Oxford could be written not only in epigrams but also in paradoxes. Oxford is a University, and is ever to be so interpreted, but the College is the unit and the soul. It is a union of immortal youth and of immemorial age. It stands for the highest social classes of a nation in which social distinctions are cut wide and deep, but it is also the source and origin of the most popular uprising in religion since the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century, and it is closely associated with the great social movement in London's East End. It is conservative, fighting for the retention of Greek as a compulsory study; but it is also alert, inquisitive, responsive to a degree to the day and the hour. It represents tolerance; but the typical Oxford man is supposed to be arrogant, cocky, and remote. It has been and still is the buttress

and support of the Church, but the late Bishop Creighton, most competent interpreter, said that it lacked "moral spring." Oxford is indeed a paradox, or rather a series of paradoxes.

Among these paradoxes is the fact that the worth of Oxford's education goes far to prove the worthlessness of the ordinary means of education, known as learning or knowledge. Oxford is the best illustration of the value of the remark not uncommon in American colleges, "Don't let your education interfere with your college life." Its methods go far to avoid the peril which the most famous of recent masters, Jowett, intimated in saying that, "Education may be the grave of the mind." Oxford does use learning and knowledge in giving an education, although its primary atmosphere is not scholastic; but it uses also and far more the person. Its purpose is not so much to push out the boundaries of science as to form character. Its aim is rather human than humanistic. It seeks to be the mother of men. It aims not so much to teach as to develop. Teaching it uses as a means, and upon that it lays emphasis, but not emphasis at all so heavy as it puts upon the end of character itself.

In seeking this purpose Oxford uses scholarship, but

OXFORD.

All Souls College with the Twin Towers.

Magdalen Tower from the Botanic Gardens.

scholarship more as a condition than as a cause. The cause is the man, the teacher, the tutor, the person, the friend. It adopts the homœopathic principle; it seeks to make men through men. The personal force is not the formal professor. The formal professor is in peril of being simply "ornamental," as an Oxford tutor said to me, although the peril is in many cases happily avoided. The personal force is the tutor; he comes into close intellectual grip and grapple with the students. He it is who embodies the essential of good teaching, declared in the remark, "He calleth his own sheep by name and leadeth them out."

The force which the university and the college thus use is not only the tutor, mature in character; but also the equal, the contemporary, the fellow-student of the student himself. Student makes student; man, man. The attrition of pebbles of equal size wears each into smoothness. The talk of the common room, the intimacies of breakfast and of luncheon, the pulling of oars in the same boat, constant and intimate association, represent forces and conditions which help to make men. The club of any good sort has value in terms of character.

In this mutual creativeness of manhood, criticism is a constantly used tool. The Englishman is a hard hitter.

He both gives and receives good blows. He respects a worthy antagonist; he despises a weak one. What we in America would call rather harsh criticism appears, for instance, in the *Oxford Magazine* regarding the debates of the Union Society. I copy these comments from several numbers of that review: "—— has a confidence in himself which is remarkable; we wish that we could have put an equal confidence in all his arguments." "—— gave us a lecture when we wanted a debate." "—— needs to unlearn his fatal fluency, if he is to become a really good speaker." "—— is at present overburdened with confidence. With a little more humility he should make a good speaker." "When the bell rang he remarked that he had better sit down. Perhaps he was right. He wants more experience." "—— should remember, however, that the Debating Hall is small in size, and that the voice need not be raised so loud as it has to be when addressing five thousand Irishmen." "—— was perhaps lacking in maiden modesty. He should simulate a little bashfulness and drop a tendency to pulpit methods." These remarks, however, are not to be taken too seriously, and, furthermore, they are accompanied by remarks quite as complimentary respecting other speakers. The criticisms, moreover, are

on the whole a part of the critical mood and attitude of Oxford. The talk of the common room is critical of men as well as of movements. The advice which Jowett gave to Matthew Arnold when he was beginning his service as Professor of Poetry, "Teach us not to criticise but to admire," has not received general adoption. George Eliot was once asked what she thought was the difference between Cambridge and Oxford, after paying a visit to each. At Cambridge, she answered, everybody spoke well of everybody else; at Oxford everybody criticised everybody.

In this personal development is seen an instance of the application of the elective system of studies. The elective system is used, not in the sense in which it is used in the American college, of a choice between different studies, but rather in the sense of a choice between studying and not studying. The advice which a private tutor gave in *Punch* to a pupil whom he was fitting for the University, "Work well with me for six months, and I promise you a long three years' holiday when you go up to Oxford," is supported by altogether too much evidence. Some men read at Oxford and read hard; many certainly do not. In the year 1860, Walter Bagehot, writing of

Gladstone, said that the education given at Oxford acts as a "narcotic rather than as a stimulant"; but the remark was made half a century ago, and in that period Oxford has certainly awakened, at least somewhat, from its "sacred torpidity." The Oxford of to-day is not the Oxford of Froude, yet what Herbert Paul says of Froude would be true of many men to-day: "He lived with the idle set in college; riding, boating and playing tennis, frequenting wines and suppers. From vicious excess his intellect and temperament preserved him. Deep down in his nature there was a strong Puritan element, to which his senses were subdued. Nevertheless, for two years he lived at Oxford in contented idleness, saying with Isaiah, and more literally than the prophet, 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die.'" [1] A son of Merton published some few years ago a magazine paper, which received much comment, entitled *Lazy Oxford*; but it would also be fair to substitute "reading" for "lazy," for not a few men are laborious.

But such indolence is not so disintegrating or dissipating to power as is sometimes believed. For it is often a "waiting" and a consequent "growing," to which Robert Brown-

[1] Paul's "Life of Froude," pp. 20, 21.

ing refers. It is an "inviting of the soul," of which Walt Whitman writes. For loafing may be an intellectual fallowness, a preparation for efficiency, or it may be animal laziness. Oxford loafing is on the whole pretty effective, for it helps a man to find himself. To many a thoughtful mind it means what the reverent reading of Plato means — a quiet self-reflection, reverent curiosity, a rich and fine contentment with the universe.

The finding oneself — the noblest result of education or of any experience — represents, both as cause and consequence, individuality. The English people is more individualistic than any other; and its oldest university is a microcosm of such development. At a Harvard celebration some years ago, James Russell Lowell and Francis Bowen were seated on the platform. Professor Bowen, as his students easily and happily recall, was specially sensitive to draughts. In the midst of the dignified proceedings, Professor Bowen drew out his red handkerchief and spread it over his bald head. The effect was at least diverting. Mr. Lowell said to a neighbor: "Universities exist to make that possible and natural." Oxford exists to train individualities, and trained them it has. They are now, if not less numerous, at least less conspicuous than in

the time of Dean Burgon; but they can still be seen in Brasenose Lane and the High. The whole atmosphere promotes self-development to the highest degrees.

This development of individuality goes along with a broad sense of toleration. This toleration applies to all subjects, social, political, academic, intellectual. Each man recognizes the right of every other to think as he pleases to think, to vote as he prefers to vote, and to act as he wishes to act. This right he is inclined to interpret in a large way. The political liberty which England early won has found its way into all forms of interpretation and of service.

Regarding the morals of Oxford men it would be easy, perhaps too easy, to write. The morals of the college men in the United States have vastly improved in the last generation. Sins of appetite are far less common than they used to be. In the making of this improvement, be it said, athletics have greatly helped. There is some reason to believe that Oxford has not had the advantage of a similar improvement. Upon such a point I should not trust myself to write. I should not be inclined to give full credence to the denunciations which the vigorous Bishop of London a few years ago hurled against the

OXFORD.

Oriel College.

Christ Church Dining Hall.

university, but it may be fair and just for me to quote from the *Oxford Magazine* (of March 15, 1905), in which an editorial note declares: "It seems undeniable that young men in residence at the universities get drunk far more frequently and violently than those who, on leaving school, live either at home or in lodgings in London or some other town. . . . The evil has increased in the last half-century. . . . A 'wine' is a comparatively rare occurrence and is commonly called a 'drink.' No one can deny the appropriateness of the name. . . . At present, public opinion condones and even approves in Oxford conduct for which a man would be immediately expelled from a London Club."

Yet, when one has said all, it is to be affirmed, and with emphasis, that there is at Oxford a very great and vital interest in education. There never was a time when, in both England and the United States, there existed so vital and widespread regard for education as the most comprehensive and progressive force in modern civilization. There is at Oxford a feeling of discontent regarding herself, her methods, her forces, her conditions. The book of Lord Curzon, the Chancellor, "Principles and Methods of University Reform," voices this feeling. A spirit of inquiry

regarding university and college administration prevails. Conservative as she is, conscious of the last enchantment of the Middle Ages as resting upon herself, she yet knows that she is not living for the sixteenth century. Improvements are slowly effected, but they are effected. Reforms are like repairs to her buildings — not usually made except as a condition of preserving the essential good of the old. Yet reforms are made, and standing "at the cross-roads," to use Percy Gardiner's phrase, she is taking that road which leads towards the East more frequently than any other. Matthew Arnold's "voices" are still heard; but the voice of the future calls with notes as strong as Carlyle's and as sweet as Emerson's.

Oxford is a university representing the English system of what in the New World is called the Higher Education. But at once comparison is invited with the other university on the banks of the Cam. Oxford and Cambridge are so alike and also so unlike! The ordinary remark, more common in America than in England, that "Cambridge is the mother of great men and Oxford of great movements," is only half a truth. Oxford is, indeed, the mother of great movements, the Wesleyan, the Tractarian, the Social; but is Oxford not also the mother of great men? A larger

share of the eminent men of England, as they appear in a biographical dictionary, have been educated at Oxford than at Cambridge. The poets belong more to Cambridge than to Oxford. Each, however, has its proper share. To the ordinary beholder they — the two universities — are so alike: the same architecture over which time and nature cast infinite enchantments, the same sequestered and satisfying quadrangles, the same gray spires and towers lifting themselves against a gray sky, the same "happy barbarians" at play; but, when one penetrates a bit beneath the surface, great differences are revealed. Oxford says that Cambridge is democratic, and uses the epithet with perhaps a certain sense of depreciation, but Cambridge accepts it as a compliment. Cambridge says that Oxford is ineffective, and also employs the epithet with an accent of depreciation, but Oxford accepts it with a smile and a shrug, and on the whole interprets the remark as a compliment. What is the use of being effective? Is not beauty sufficient unto itself? Oxford, too, hugs the Greek Grammar with a firmness a bit firmer than does Cambridge; and Cambridge points with modest pride to the Cavendish Laboratory, the most significant place of scientific research in Britain and, some would say, in the world, despite

its somewhat nondescript building. Be it also added, to these differences, that the Oxford colleges are governed more by their heads, who are called by various names, Rector, Provost, President, and the Cambridge more by their Fellows.

In the recent years have sprung up in the Midlands several universities, — Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and Liverpool. In some cases they are enlargements of local and non-degree-conferring institutions, the University of Birmingham, for instance, being the enlargement of Mason College. The relation between them and Oxford is of a contrast yet deeper than that which emerges between Oxford and Cambridge. In a way which, perhaps, is not wholly fair, an Oxford journal has referred to the differences between the ancient foundations and the recent institutions. Oxford and Cambridge, it says, have been called expensive clubs, Manchester and Birmingham cheap restaurants. The food at each is good. The difference is not one of content of education, but of class. Oxford and Cambridge are supported by those who are devoted to amusement; Manchester and Birmingham by those to whom life spells efficiency. These distinctions do contain a truth, but they are not absolutely truthful. Ox-

ford and Cambridge are not supported by those who are wholly devoted to amusement, and the element of a liberal education which some of the Midland universities represent should receive greater emphasis in an interpretation. Yet of no one of the newer schools could the beholder say, as a son of Oxford has said of Oxford, "Kindly mother, dear and delightful, with a charm beyond all praise, greatly beautiful, and rather foolish." For they are primarily technical schools; and what some would call "nonsense" is excluded.

As between the German university and Oxford the note of contrast is still to be continued. The primary purpose of the German university is to learn and to declare the truth; the primary purpose of Oxford is to train men. One might add that a tertiary — not even a secondary — purpose of the German is the training of men; and also, by a parity of interpretation, the tertiary purpose of the Oxford system is the discovery and exposition of truth. The head of one of the oldest and most famous colleges of Oxford has told me of the revelation and satisfaction which were his, on going to a German university, after taking a degree at Oxford, to find a professor lecturing with the single purpose of making a subject known in all

relations to his hearers, without any regard to a forthcoming examination or to the effect of that examination on a man's future career. After the close confinement of a great course at Oxford, he found the freedom of inquiry for the truth, and for the truth alone, a mighty relief. Indeed, the constant contrast between the scholastic method and purpose of Berlin and of Munich and the human purpose and method of Oxford is hardly less marked than the contrast between the conventual and monastic life of a college quad on the Isis and the Cherwell and the free metropolitan life of the students of Munich, of Leipsic, and of Berlin.

There is also a further difference between Oxford, standing for the university education of England, and the German university. The philosophical and scientific interests of the Continental nation have been committed to the university. The corresponding interests of the island nation have been committed to the individual investigator. Spencer, Darwin, John Stuart Mill, the son as well as the father, represent great scholastic achievements made outside of university walls. The same condition obtained, too, in the earlier time. The names of Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Hume, Ricardo do not suggest

academic cloisters. The result has been that German philosophy has been characterized as being systematic and English philosophy as being individualistic. The one represents a continuous orderliness of development, moving on like a river; the other, as embodying the personal equation of each student and thinker, philosophic or scientific.

As one approaches the discussion of the relation of Oxford to the great universities of America — Harvard, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Yale, and Columbia — one finds that the element of contrast passes over in part to one of likeness, but only in part. The American university and college are ordained to train men; but that is not their single primary purpose. Their primary purpose is a double one: both to train men and to find truth. The Harvard shield bears the word "*Veritas*" written across the pages of three books; but it also intimates a human purpose in the further inscription of devotion to the Church and to Christ.

There is, however, one point of contrast, which, though in one sense narrow, yet possesses much significance. Oxford has no special chair devoted to the training of students in the art of English composition. For thirty

years and more, the American college has been emphasizing this department and form of instruction. The Oxford system presupposes that the writing of English is an art and a science in which it is a duty of every instructor to give tuition. The department is not a department. It does not represent segregations. It must be confessed that the results of the two systems seem to favor the Oxford interpretation and method. One comprehensive deficiency of the American system is found in the lack of a sense of style which most of the writing done by American students shows. The writing is, if clear, common; and, if forceful, as it usually is not, it is yet commonplace. The writing of Oxford men may be somewhat slovenly, but it has flavor, balance, picturesqueness, good taste, allusiveness. The writing, on the whole, of the better Oxford graduate is quite as much superior to the writing of the better American graduate as the editorials of the London *Times* are superior to the editorials of the abler American daily newspaper. The reason of the Oxford superiority lies, in my judgment, in two causes. First, there is the greater attention paid to securing good English in the study of every subject. The marks given in the examination paper upon any subject depend to no small

extent upon the use of English. The Senior Fellow in an Oxford college said to me, in speaking of a certain examination paper, that he could not give it a good mark because the man did not understand English. The second reason lies in the dominance of the classical tradition. A professor of English at Harvard, Barrett Wendell, says the best method of teaching men to write good English is to write Latin verses. Another professor of English at Harvard College has said that a good method of training in writing good English prose is to write any kind of English verse. It is certainly true that a knowledge of Latin and Greek has made, or helped to make, English literature. It still contains such possibilities!

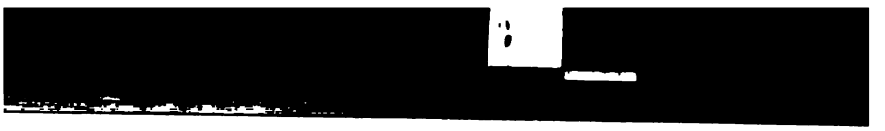
In comparisons of Oxford and the American university it is often asserted that the Oxford system of different colleges should be transplanted into large institutions like Harvard and Yale. I may be suffered to say at once that, in my judgment, any such transplanting is inexpedient and essentially impossible. There are various reasons for such a judgment. First, the Oxford system is a growth. It is a growth in and out of English soil. It is a part of English life. It is a delicate and highly developed plant. To cause it to grow and to flourish in other academic

soil would be as hard as to make the Scotch heather grow in the White Mountains of New Hampshire. But this reason has small value in comparison with the consideration, secondly, that the Oxford system is very expensive in money. It represents duplication of laboratories, chapels, libraries, and scientific apparatus, although be it said that Cambridge, as a university, is giving instruction in the sciences. It also represents duplication of offices and officers. Oxford has more than a score of college presidents for about three thousand students. The system takes small account of economical efficiency or of efficient economies. One cause, indeed, why Oxford is receiving so little money from the wealthy men of England is the lack of economy or of efficiency in its organic methods and governments. A third reason against the possibility of carrying the Oxford system over the seas lies in the fact that the worth of the system arises, in part at least, from the presence of a class of students and of tutors who are willing to wait for conditions of culture to work their way in a human character rather as conditions than as efficient causes. What Matthew Arnold would call the charm of social intercourse or good society represents a condition necessary for the proper working of the Oxford system.

OXFORD.

Keble College.

The Bodleian Library.



The college system represents men living together in intimate relationships. For such a system to have special worth there must obtain a certain tone, or atmosphere, which it is difficult to secure in any society; but which it is less difficult to secure in a staid and conservative society of fine traditions than in a new and changing community.

But there *is* an element of the Oxford system, and an element far more important than the college methods just referred to, which can be introduced into our American colleges. It is the whole essential element of the tutorial system. The tutorial system represents Oxford more adequately than anything else. The tutorial system, let me say in passing, though good, very good for the students, is equally bad for the tutor. No man in Oxford is more faithful, more laborious, more conscientious, than the tutor; but, in his faithfulness and laboriousness, he is in peril either of killing himself in body or of producing mental atrophy. To teach five hours a day, year after year, to teach as one should teach, giving oneself as well as one's knowledge, is liable to result in mental disintegration, destruction, or death, or other damnable things. From such catastrophes tutors are saved only by frequent

or long vacations. For them it is necessary that one-half of the calendar year should be a college vacation.

The great worth of the essential part of the tutorial system consists of two elements: first, the individual impartation of knowledge; and, second, the impression of personal character and the conveying of personal influence. The teaching is given to men in very small groups. Such teaching allows closeness of relationship between the teacher and the student. Such relationship represents the giving and receiving of knowledge in best form, and the giving and receiving also of personal influence unto highest relationships. These primary and fundamental elements of the Oxford system can be introduced into the large American colleges. The simple and single fact is that the number of teachers in the large college of the United States should be vastly increased, or the large college should cease to be large. "More teachers, smaller classes," should be made our college cry. Such teaching under such conditions would give us the best and the essential part of Oxford; and such teaching it is possible to introduce into the colleges of America. Princeton affords an example and gives inspiration.

It is thus that there may be increased in our colleges

that supreme and signal quality which Oxford represents, — the quality of reverence. To the development of this quality much of Oxford ministers, — the immemorial past, the quiet restfulness of noble architecture, the humanized landscapes; but this quality is also nurtured, and more, through wise and great souls bearing themselves in fitting intellectual sympathies, and of the heart, too, unto other souls less mature. Such is the Oxford method. Such a method would help to make the American college, and so American life, full of the dignities, the gentle reasonableness, and sympathetic interpretativeness which constitute the comprehensive intellectual and moral virtue of reverence.

Oxford is the best England raised to the highest power. It represents the conservativeness, the thoroughness, and the solidity of English life, character, institutions. In the shocks which our civilization is sure of meeting in the course of the forthcoming centuries, those qualities and elements which centre in and radiate forth from Oxford can be rested back upon as forces which shall help to maintain civilization in a state of stable equilibrium. Such solidity is of far greater worth than the loveliness and reposefulness which are so manifest to the ordinary observer.

II

THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

THE University of London is a university in London. Its relation to its own immediate community is even more impressive than its relation to the world is significant. In the roar of the traffic of the world's metropolis is yet heard the still, small voice of learning and of culture. A municipal university to be impressive must be large. A small one is in peril of becoming the object of ridicule. The University of London has not only a place in London, it is also an illustration to the world of the worth of a high ideal, long and nobly held, for ministering to the community; and it represents a method for bringing together into economical efficiency institutions of the higher and professional education.

The history and the present condition of the University of London illustrate the methods of the growth of English character and of the English nation. More than three hundred and fifty years ago, in 1548, Sir Thomas Gresham

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON. KING'S COLLEGE.

founded a college in London which bore his name and which in a way still bears it. The purpose of Sir Thomas was to give to the citizens of London "means of academic instruction cheaper and more accessible than those of Cambridge and of Oxford." The foundation did not prosper. The fire of 1666, and personal disputes which were also hot, contributed to its decline, although Sir Christopher Wren and Barrow were among its officers. One hundred years after, it was said by a distinguished citizen, "There is no city, in any learned nation, of London's magnitude or magnificence without a university in it." The period of the Commonwealth was a period in which neither Oxford nor Cambridge could be regarded as suitable schools for the rearing of a godly ministry. But the project to build a university in London, despite the favor of Parliament, came to naught.

Indeed, about a quarter of the nineteenth century had passed before the endeavor was again made to establish a university in the world's great city. From the attempt made by Thomas Campbell, the poet, in 1825, to found University College, and from the granting of the first charter in 1836 to the university itself, through the granting of at least half a dozen charters in the last two-thirds

of the nineteenth century, down to the present day, the University of London has moved to and fro with that variableness which marks the progress of most English institutions. The endeavor to establish an institution of the highest education has been beset by many difficulties. Its primary purpose and fundamental methods have been the subject of constant and not infrequently acrimonious debate. Should the institution be a teaching or only an examining body? If it were to be an examining body, should its examinations be limited to graduates of certain schools, or should the tests be thrown open to all? It has been obliged to contend against the indifference of a great commercial community — an indifference which harasses all institutions in a metropolis which are concerned with the higher education. The university on the Thames has not been free from the opposition, at certain times, of the university on the sluggish Isis or on the Cam. It has suffered from the lack of a permanent and proper abiding place. Its machinery has been complex and heavy. Like the administration of London itself, composed of municipal boroughs, metropolitan boroughs, county councils, rural councils, and parish courts, crossing and recrossing each other, it has had

to contend with elaborate, cumbersome, and conservative methods and conditions. Its revenues have been inadequate. Its progress has as a result been slow. Decades have been required to secure results which ought to have been gained in a year. Yet it has progressed. Gains once made have usually been held, and have proved to be the cause of securing still further advancement. On its list of officers in the last two-thirds of a century it has had such names as Faraday, Senior, Airy, Thomas Arnold, Macaulay, Hallam, and George Cornwall Lewis. Its progress has been like the growth of the principle of civil liberty — sinuous and slow. Beset and defeated by opposing forces, crushed or harried by foes either open or disguised as friends, suffering from the lack of wisdom in enthusiastic but irrational supporters, restrained by the indifference of formal but stolid friends, it has yet gone forward.

To-day the University of London has become the most important institution for uniting, confederating, and coördinating all institutions of the higher education of Greater London. It is an institution in and of itself. But it is also, and more, an institution formed through other institutions which are affiliated with it.

These schools thus affiliated, while usually independent schools, are also schools recognizing their federation with the university. Commonly they control their own finances, make their own appointments of members of the teaching staff, and govern their students as they in their own corporate wisdom determine. They are, however, influenced in these scholastic activities by the whole university, in whose chief governing body — the senate — they are represented. They also feel the inspiration and the sense of relationship which belong to association with a large body, administrative and scholarly. As the registrar of the university in a personal letter says: "A direction is given to the studies in all the institutions connected with the university by the curricula laid down for degrees by the senate. These curricula are drafted in the first instance by the boards of studies, which practically include teachers from all the various institutions, who are therefore brought into close intellectual contact; and, as a rule, the recommendations of the board with regard to curricula are adopted by the senate with little or no modification."

The University of London, therefore, may be compared to the relationship which exists between the United

States and each of the commonwealths which help to constitute the United States. Yet the analogy is by no means complete. For there exists a University of London, apart from all confederation, and in its broader relation the University of London includes the whole federation. Each party to the confederation retains certain rights, yet each has surrendered certain of its rights to the whole body. The whole body determines or confirms certain methods and measures of each individual school. The system is a system of checks and of balances; it is also a system of related forces — educational and executive. It is a system — if a system at all it might be called — built up, not by rule, but rather by principle, changing from year to year, but always enlarging, determined entirely by conditions, and its success assured by reason of the wisdom and force of the personalities which are in and beneath the whole movement.

The aim in this great affiliating process which has gone on, and is still bound to go on in yet larger relationships, is to put down educational eccentricities and anomalies and to raise the level of the higher education. The union of institutions has made a strength for each

which the strongest previously lacked. In the carrying out of this purpose the characteristic English purpose and method have prevailed. The Englishman is conservative and individualistic. He is economical; he wastes nothing. He builds on and out of the past; he respects tradition. Unlike the French, he does not begin anew; he takes old institutions and adjusts them to new conditions. The French Revolution of 1789 illustrates the passion of the one nation for radicalism. The English Revolution of 1688 illustrates the willingness of the other nation to transmute the old into the new. In making, therefore, a university for the great metropolis, the London people have preferred to use the materials which the past has given them — materials heterogeneous and in some respects unworthy, but which represent the economy, the labor, and the sacrifice of generations, and so to change and to rechange the materials as to use them in the construction and reconstruction of a great university.

The confession is general, as it is sincere, on the part of the English people, that they feel little interest in education. The primary interests of the English people are social, political, and economic. Education has to fight

for a proper standing. Under such a condition, the struggle of the University of London for worthy place and power is constant and heavy. But in making this struggle great forces are mobilized and worthy personalities are summoned into service. For making an impression in and through London, greatness in any institution is imperative. A small institution would be utterly neglected. Greatness contributes to greatness, littleness to littleness. The method, therefore, of the promoters and supporters has been and is wise, as their purpose is high. The university in London is the University of London. Yet it is also something more.

The university still recognizes two classes of students, known as external and internal. External students are those who enter in order to pass certain examinations. These students take on a very wide relationship. For the university has for years conducted examinations not only in London, but also in the colonies. It is possible for a student to obtain some of the degrees by examinations held entirely in his own colony. Yet it has been the desire of the University of London not to compete with colonial universities. Internal students are obliged to spend at least three years in London and to take such

courses for the Bachelor's degree as are approved by the senate. These courses are usually offered in some one of the confederated schools of the university, or under teachers who are recognized by the senate. There are now about five thousand internal students and nearly a thousand recognized teachers.

The great governing body of the university is the senate. It is composed of fifty-six persons. Membership is, on the whole, representative of the confederated schools. But also general personal reasons prevail. Two members at the present time are women. Among the members are the ablest of the able men who constitute the higher civil, social, literary, and educational life of the metropolis. It is to the dignity, public worthiness, as well as to the noble individual outstandingness, of the members of this body, that credit should be given for the later creation and advancement of the great university. The university illustrates the truth — of which there is no need of illustration — that men are more than methods or measures.

The immediate scholastic equipment impresses the American observer as inadequate. The laboratories found in the main building are rather examining than

teaching establishments. The chemistry, the physics, and the biology in which students are trained are taught rather in the separate institutions which go to make up the university than in the headquarters of the university itself. But in the great building of the university are found laboratories, large and not inadequately furnished, in which examinations are given, and which also, under certain conditions, may serve for teaching purposes. These laboratories, however, in comparison with such laboratories as are found in Chicago and in Cambridge, give the impression that the English idea of education is still the idea of two men talking to each other about high concerns. The thought of James A. Garfield regarding Mark Hopkins and the other man dominates in England even more than in the United States.

The significance of the university to the world is well illustrated in the fact that the university is in its administrative relationships housed in the noble building of the Imperial Institute. This impressive but somewhat nondescript structure was built as a memorial to the great Queen in 1887. It is filled with diverse and manifold treasures — mineral, agricultural, industrial — which represent the worth of the wealth of the possessions of

the English crown. The officers of the university are disposed to lament their lack of a building specifically and entirely their own. But the present condition seems to me to be not without peculiar significance. London is the world as no other city is. Its university, therefore, fittingly has specific relations with the world through the Imperial Institute.

The comparison of the University of London with Oxford and Cambridge presents a contrast almost as sharp as the contrast between the violet-crowned cities on the Isis and Cam and the Babylonian town on the Thames. The university in the metropolis has little or none of academic atmospheres or associations. It has no noiseless and shadowy quadrangles of velvety turf made soft and fine by seven hundred years of cropping.

Its towers are not crowned with either time or ivy. Its common rooms play an insignificant part in academic fellowship. Its chapels have small relation to kings or to Christ Church Cathedral. Neither prestige nor tradition rests upon it with a hand at once as loving as life and as heavy as death. The Middle Ages have flung over it no spell. Unreasoned and unreasonable beliefs have not troubled its students, nor have artificial or

arbitrary discriminations proved determinative. What Oxford and Cambridge count as of primary worth — and in many respects such countings are of primary worth — London regards as secondary. And what London might regard as of first significance, the ancient foundations interpret as of less worth. Yet, be it said, that in many fundamental respects they are alike. They are both ministers of culture to humanity. Oxford is also on the Thames.

But Oxford and Cambridge and London, a trinity blended into a unity, would offer a result as near academic perfection as the modern world possesses. For the three would create and train the man of refinement and appreciation, of gentleness without weakness, of persistence without stubbornness, of largeness without vagueness in thought or activity, and of quietness without indifference. They would also offer as a result the scholar — large, gracious, forceful — whose learning has not absorbed his humanity and whose love for the exact has not made his character small. Such a unity, too, would train the gentleman unto efficiency, whose selfwardness never becomes selfishness, who can inspire to service without being regarded as guilty of pertness. A further creation of such united

academic training would be a worker at the world's tasks who could invite his soul and read, while he toils at his simple duties, the lessons of the eternities.

If the forces which have insured the progress of the last score of years of the higher education in London continue — and the evidence indicates that they will even increase in their worth — London will become as worthy a centre of the world's education as it is now of its commerce.. Students will assemble in enlarging numbers. Research will be promoted. A distinct and definite service for the educational needs of humanity will be increased, as it is now measurably maintained. Great libraries will be established, and larger laboratories for professional training as well as for general cultivation will be equipped. The University of London, under fairly good conditions, should become the university of the world. It will still be, as I said in the beginning of this chapter, a university in London, and it will not be simply a university of London.

III

THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

THE Middle Ages have exerted their deepest influence on modern life through institutions. The institutions which have had the greatest influence are the Holy Roman Empire, the Papacy, and the University. To the university the modern world is most deeply indebted for its intellectual development. The University of Paris has, in causing this development for eight hundred years, been perhaps the most efficient force. What the Empire was to government, what the Papacy was to religion, that was the University to the intellect of man. In this intellectual progress the university on the Seine bore a principal part. Let us of the English tradition, who recognize that Oxford of all universities has had the strongest national influence, not forget that it was students from Paris who contributed much to the early progress of Oxford. The Seine flowed into the Isis.

The history of the University of Paris, like the history of Paris itself, is a history of revolutions. From the

eleventh century, when education passed from the monks over into the hands of the secular clergy, down to the close of the eighteenth century, when Napoleon established the University of France as a method of carrying on education of all types, the annals of the great school at the capital form a record of turnings and overturnings. These revolutions were ecclesiastical, political, educational, personal. The university and its chancellor were often at enmity, the Pope occasionally did himself the honor of excommunicating the whole university; occasionally too the authorities of the university dissolved themselves and left Paris; the rector from time to time quarrelled with the deans; the university occasionally condemned Parliament and claimed its own right as the eldest daughter of the king to plead before the monarch only. In the fifteenth century the university was frequently involved with both the ecclesiastical and the civic authorities over questions of privilege.

This quarrelsomeness, both in mood and act, may have some relation to the present separate condition of the higher education in Paris. If one look at a chart of the various higher schools of the French capital, he is impressed with the manifold divisions. These divisions

UNIVERSITY OF PARIS. THE SORBONNE.

spring from, as well as unite in, the Minister of Public Instruction. They number no less than a dozen, including schools whose names are most general as well as those of very special teaching and application. Schools of modern languages, of a higher normal instruction, exist side by side with the College of France and the University of Paris.

The University of Paris, in its formal relationship, includes six departments — the Faculty of Letters, the Faculty of Sciences, the Faculty of Law, the Faculty of Protestant Theology, the Faculty of Medicine, and the School of Pharmacy.

But while one recognizes these divisions, he also does not fail to appreciate that all these schools, colleges, universities, and faculties have their origin in the Minister of Public Instruction. But what is possibly of greater significance in the administration of the higher education is, that the relationships of all these diverse institutions and agencies are characterized by unity of common sentiments and beliefs and by the warmth of personal regard of members of the teaching staff. Side by side stand the buildings of the College of France and the Sorbonne, the chief place of the University of Paris. In

these two institutions certain courses of instruction seem to be duplicated, but the relationship is one of harmony and efficiency. They are, as are other institutions, essential parts of that great method known as the University of France, which Napoleon instituted, and which represents, with his legal code, the most lasting results of his work.

Universities are like Tennyson's Brook, — men may come and men may go, but universities go on forever. With the risings and fallings of dynasties, for eight hundred years, the university of the French capital has gone on. It is pleasant to be able to say that its progress under the Republic for the last generation has been greater than its advancement under the last Empire. Universities ought, in the nature of things, to have a higher degree of prosperity under a democratic than under a monarchical government. The people should be more interested in securing for themselves the best things that education can offer than any monarch, be he even the proverbial perfectly wise and good despot, can be interested in giving them. At all events the Republic is more efficient in the service of education than was either Napoleon III or Louis Philippe. The demand for money

seems in part to be quite as insistent under a republic as under an imperial government. It seems also to be as insistent in Paris as in an American state university. Economies in university administration are evident. The pay of full professors in the University of France is small; $2000 — the normal sum — is not a large annual income to support a college family in the French capital. It is pleasant to record that the beginnings of a pension system are made.

But certainly it is not a sign of niggardliness in either the state or the municipality to find a university building erected at a cost of some seven million dollars. It is perhaps unique that this vast expenditure, made between 1884 and 1900, for the noble hall known as the Sorbonne, in which the university has its chief centre, was incurred in equal parts by the Republic of France and by the city of Paris. It is not Minneapolis or Ann Arbor or Madison which furnishes one-half of the money for the chief buildings of its university. Each university is a child of the state and not of the immediate municipality. The sense of pride in their university is great in the people of Paris. It is the institution which has survived all changes. Among the French nation too is found a sense of pride

in the University of Paris. But what is more important for France and its capital, as for every democracy, is that a belief exists that the stability of a government by the people depends largely upon the intelligence of the people. Intelligence must increase as government becomes more democratic. In securing such intelligence the guidance and inspiring force of universities are of prevailing worth.

The chief place of the University of Paris is, as I have said, the Sorbonne. The Sorbonne represents a building and not an institution. The present structure, together with the building of the University of Vienna, embodies the noblest academic architecture. The Vienna building is more imposing and impressive to the general sense. The Paris building is a more delicate piece of art. For, in certain relations, the Paris building is simply an art gallery. The best of French painters of recent years have worked together in placing upon its walls representations of historic academic scenes and of scholastic interpretations. The immense painting of Puvis de Chavannes which, next to Tintoretto's great canvas at Venice, is possibly the largest painting in the world — more than a hundred feet in length and more than thirty in height —

UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

Grand Stairway.

Faculty Room.

is of course most conspicuous of all academic paintings; but it exists not alone, for Chartran and Flameng have also put upon the walls of the corridors and of the great Faculty Hall historic scenes. Pascal, Descartes, Cuvier, and Lavoisier represent names, movements, and interpretations which lend themselves both to æsthetic impressiveness and to scholastic inspiration. The whole impression given by the present building is a union of both the æsthetic and the scholastic.

The contrast between the University of Paris and the German university system meets one as soon as he begins to reflect upon the French methods and conditions. The two phrases, the University of Paris and the German university, are significant. France has only one university which is outstanding, Germany has several. The French method has, on the whole, been one of centralization, the German of division. Do not Leipsic and Munich and Heidelberg represent in some department results as great and opportunities as rich as those which Berlin offers? But the contrast does not end with administrative elements, it continues in scholastic concerns. In scholarship the Germans are, I believe, more profound, and the French more facile. The Germans are more

learned, and the French superior in the forms of the presentation of knowledge. The Germans are more progressive in scholarship, more daring in hypothesis, the French more careful and conservative. The Germans are more willing to push forward their hypotheses without regard to the limitation of a fact, the French more inclined to keep to the teaching and the force of a fact itself. The Germans stand for the specialist, manifesting a deeper narrowness in treating a subject, the French offer a view more comprehensive and a wider conspectus. Few, if any, university lectures are so clear in their articulation or so pleasing in their presentation of truths as those given in Paris, none are more learned than those offered in Berlin. The German professor and student are greater men, the French greater gentlemen.

In Paris, as in the German university, the thesis plays an important part. Undoubtedly the best German theses are certainly as good as, or better than, the best written by French students; but also undoubtedly the poorest German are poorer than the poorest French. A mediocre French student wishing to get a doctorate usually manages to collect enough literary stuff to make a fairly good presentation. A mediocre German stu-

dent, a candidate for degree, would be passed in certain universities who would be refused in Paris.

On these grounds it may be added that it would be wiser for the American student to begin his advanced studies in Paris, and to continue them in Germany; but there are other grounds which make the opposite course desirable. For the methods of university work are better in the institutions of the northern side of the Rhine. The students study harder and moral conditions seem to me more sane.

For the French institution is seeking to attract students from America. The desire is constantly and strongly expressed to divert American men from going to Germany. "Do you welcome American students?" I asked the obliging secretary of the College of France. "Toujours," was his emphatic reply. In fact, of the four degrees, the Baccalaureate, the Licentiate, the Doctor in Science and Letters, and the Doctorate of the University, the last one, founded about fifteen years ago, was established confessedly as a rival to the German doctorate in Philosophy. It was in no small degree a bid for American students. So far it has not accomplished its purpose. For it must be acknowledged that the American home is

hardly eager to intrust its sons, of even twenty-five years of age, to a lengthy residence in Paris, — and in any consideration of an academic question the wishes of an American father and mother do and should early and strongly emerge. But there is a more fundamental and general consideration preventing American students coming to Paris. Latin peoples and life are not so akin to the Anglo-Saxon peoples and life of the New World as are the Teutonic. Such a fact constitutes a reason, more or less strong and general, against the American student coming to Paris unless there be strong reasons of quite another sort urging him. In the case of the Fine Arts such reasons do exist. If France had been able to support and continue the popularity which she once enjoyed in the New World, an independent world which she helped to make, for the forty years following the war of the Revolution, her great capital might have attracted American students as Leipsic and Halle began to do in the early decades of the last century. It is to be feared that the time is now too late. The great French university exists primarily for the French people, despite alliances and associations formed to promote the coming of foreigners and especially of Americans. For as a

permanent condition the Anglo-Saxon peoples do not mingle so easily with peoples of Latin origin and traditions as with those of a more strictly northern source and environment.

Yet Americans are losing in their knowledge and appreciation of certain subjects in not coming to Paris. The Romance tongues can here be best studied, despite the indebtedness which the French acknowledge they owe to the Germans and especially to the great Diez. This indebtedness covers both literature and psychology, for Diez was the teacher and inspirer of Gaston Paris, of Tobler, and of Mussafia. It is also probably true that in general there is no better place for studying the sciences than Paris offers. One, moreover, need hardly look upon the mere list of courses in the political and social sciences without being deeply impressed with the richness of the opportunities thus presented.

Great universities in great cities are usually better fitted to promote the discovery of truth than to train men. Small colleges placed in small towns are usually better equipped for the training of men than for the discovery of truth. But in the University of Paris both purposes prevail. I asked a distinguished savant which

purpose was the stronger, and his reply was "they are equally strong." The same reply would be given by the members of the teaching staff of most American universities; but, on the whole, the discovery of truth seems to me to be at least as fully important in the University of Paris as the more immediately human purpose.

Coeducation is in Paris, as in most continental universities, the custom. Women come and go, work by the side of the men, and men by their side, and neither minds the other. This condition is unlike the relation which obtains in many coeducational colleges in America, in which each does mind the other. But a lecture-room is quite a different affair from a recitation room; and a great university in a great metropolis is quite unlike a small college in a small college town, or a large university in a small inland city. In the continental university, men and women listening to an academic lecture, or even working in the same botanical or other laboratory, have practically no more relationship than they would have in seeing a play in the same theatre, or worshipping together in the same church.

The high quality of teaching found in French schools is due in no small degree, both directly and indirectly, to

UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

Cuvier in his Laboratory.

A Group of French Scholars.

(From Paintings in the Sorbonne.)

the Ecole Normale Supérieure. This school is a school established, like the similar schools in America, as a school for the training of teachers. Its diploma is of great worth in securing and holding a good place on a teaching staff. It has not yet been able to pass out of a stage of ridicule and of a certain degree of dislike on the part of some scholars, although its work is of a very high character. The character of the work itself, however, is lifting it to a high place of esteem. In the general scheme of scholastic sympathies and affiliation, the relationship existing between this school and the University of Paris is helpful to each. The university presents content of knowledge, and the normal school methods for making this content available as a teaching instrument. In Paris and France, as in America, the best teacher represents the liberal training of the higher education united with the professional training of the school of education.

There is one lesson for American college folk which springs out of one's knowledge of the student life in the Latin Quarter to which I wish to allude. Students everywhere are sure to have a life of their own. In case the academic authorities fail to provide fitting opportunities for students to live their own life, they are sure to create

such opportunities for themselves. Such opportunities thus created are in grave peril of not being the best. Such opportunities are far from being the best in Paris. The American college placed either in the metropolis or the country village should seek to open fitting opportunities for students to have their good times together. The times which they thus have together will prove to be good in every sense of the word. But if the college or university make and keep itself remote from its students, if it give the impression or have the belief that it has done its full duty to its students when it has set before them certain lectures, students will be inclined to take the college at its own interpretation and will seek their life outside of academic walls. Such a life thus sought and enjoyed often represents forces and conditions which disintegrate manhood. The students' balls in Paris are not things to be imitated in Boston or New York or Chicago. The whole athletic condition in the American college has evil features, but the lack of a similar interest in the continental universities opens the way to students to have interests which are far less desirable. Better by far is the football game even at its worst than the Students' Ball Bullier of the Boulevard Saint Michel.

IV

THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIDEN

LEIDEN is dear to the heart of the American; and in particular to the heart of the New Englander. For here lived the Pilgrims eleven years before coming to Plymouth; and here lived, preached, taught, and died the Pilgrim pastor, John Robinson. Near the university is the place of his burial, as was the place of his residence. Dear to the heart of the democratic American, moreover, is the University of Leiden, not only because of its personal and racial association, but also because of its impressive foundation.

After Leiden's desperate and triumphant resistance of the Spanish siege in 1574, the great stadtholder, William of Orange, desired to recognize the mighty courage and nobility of its citizens. He offered to relieve the city from taxation for a term of years, or to found for it a university. In choosing between these two offers there was no questioning. They chose the university. The history of

Leiden, as well as the history of scholarship throughout the world, proves the wisdom of their choice.

The foundation of the university marks the large emergence of the Protestant religion. It also forms an epoch in the intellectual annals of Holland. Notwithstanding the presence and the influence of lower institutions, no institution of the higher learning had been founded in the Low Countries before the middle of the sixteenth century. The University of Louvain in Brabant was near, and Paris was of a distance now covered by a short railroad ride. Some students had gone to Heidelberg, some to Basel, and some to the free city of Geneva. Others, of the well-to-do class especially, had found their way to the historical source of culture, Italy. But when, on Alva's arrival in the course of the great war, the eldest son of the Prince of Orange was taken from his studies at Louvain and carried to Spain, where he was held a prisoner for a score of years, the Hollanders were prepared to carry out any resolution towards giving the privileges of the higher education to their sons within their own well-guarded sea walls. They were quite as unwilling to send their sons to the University at Louvain as that university was unwilling to receive them.

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The most significant element in the history of the University of Leiden is that which is most precious and inspiring. It is the record of the great scholars who have in three centuries been enrolled among its teachers. No university can offer, in proportion to the whole number of its teaching staff, a more impressive calendar of noble names. Probably chief among them is Scaliger. He was elected a professor of belles-lettres in 1593. The tales of his attainments are traditional enough, both in the sense of being handed on from age to age, and also in the sense of being touched with accretions of unique wonders. It is said that when a boy of nineteen he began to read Greek literature, both prose and poetry, and in two years had completed the whole and happy task. In his linguistic attainments was included a general understanding of ancient law and institutions. In Hebrew and other Oriental languages he was said to be an adept. His contemporaries have left evidence of their reverence for his genius. Casaubon called him a masterpiece of nature, "and greater in Greek poetry than any one since Sophocles and Aristophanes." Writers of a later generation have continued his praises. The philosophic Hallam says he was the "most extraordinary master of general erudition

that ever lived." The reverence of his contemporaries as well as of his successors for his genius and learning seems unparalleled.

Although none who have followed Scaliger have excelled him in comprehensiveness of knowledge, yet his successors were not unworthy. His immediate successor was Salmasius, of whom it was remarked that what he did not know was beyond the bounds of human knowledge! When a boy of eleven Grotius came to Leiden as a student. Six years later Henry the Fourth of France presented him at Versailles to his sister, saying, "Behold the miracle of Holland." The beginning thus made was enhanced by his subsequent work as the father of modern international law, as a jurist, philologist, theologian. In Leiden, also, although the lectures they gave to the students may have been infrequent, dwelt Descartes, the founder of modern philosophy in important respects, and Spinoza. Among the teachers, too, the first of a long line of theologians was Arminius, and here he and his Calvinistic rivals fought many a battle. The early record of Levisy has been continued through a later period. Under Boerhaave the medical school became perhaps the best known of any school of Europe. He was great as a diagnostician, and

apparently was no less great as a teacher of clinical medicine. Both in the value of clinical teaching and also in his interpretation of the liberal learning necessary for the calling of the physician, he was among the greatest of his age. His monument in the Pieterskert is inscribed, "To the health-giving Boerhaave."

The university celebrated its tercentenary in the year 1875. At that time it was recognized that the scholarly tradition had not passed. The first Greek scholar of Europe, Cobet, was one of its professors; and also some of the first scholars in theology were of its staff. In New Testament criticism and in science Leiden does not fall one whit behind the great Continental universities.

On the occasion of the tercentenary, in the address of welcome given by the great De Vries, it was said, "To you, Frenchmen, we owe our Joseph Scaliger, that incomparable man, Salmasius, Donellus, and Clusius; to you, Germans, we owe Vitruvius, Weisse, and Wyttenbach." The University of Leiden is indeed great in its scholarship, because it has gathered its scholars from many lands throughout more than three centuries. It is absolutely remote from the institutional inbreeding which characterizes and harms some American universities.

Scholarship is, up to this very year, emphasized as the chief, if not the only, element commending one to a professorship. A professor said to me, "I was appointed without any inquiry being made into my ability as a teacher." The members of the staff are more eager to be discoverers of truth than mothers of men. In fact, even in the faculty of theology, the endeavor seems to be rather to make technical theologians than effective ministers. But in science especially, research, investigation, discovery are the great motives and inspirations. The results seem worthy. For the discoveries made in the last years in the physical laboratory at Leiden are as great as have been made in any laboratory of the world, be it even the Cavendish laboratory at Cambridge, or the laboratory of Helmholtz.

A key-note of the history of Leiden quite as constant and as eminent as its scholarship is its sense of freedom. The university has always stood for the cause of political and scholastic freedom. It has been the determined foe of absolutism. For freedom of thinking, and for freedom of conduct on the part of both students and professors, it has been perhaps the most significant representative. No university known to me gives the student larger lib-

erty. His admission automatically follows upon his passing examinations which close his preparatory course in the gymnasium. His presence in university hall and lecture room is largely his own and his parents' concern. He may break the law of the state and all the laws of Moses, making himself a criminal, yet the university takes no responsibility for or account of his outlawry; that is an affair of the state. There is a case of a student on record who was adjudged guilty of, and was punished for, arson, but who was still allowed to be a member of the University. A professor's life is permitted to be quite as individual as the student's. His appointment is made by the educational authorities of the state upon the recommendation of the faculty and the curators; but, having once been made, he is his own master. If he judge that his students will receive as great benefit from two lectures a week as from five, he has the right to limit his lectures to the smaller number. If he judge that research represents the field he ought to cultivate, and not teaching, his is the right, too, to give his strength to enlarging the boundaries of scholarship. If indeed it can be thought that indolence may possess a man so vigorous as is the typical Dutch professor, no one denies him the oppor-

tunity of plucking the lotus flower of scholastic ease. In fact, his removal from his chair, against his will, would seem to be an unthinkable contingency.

A further dominating characteristic of the University of Leiden seems to me to be its simplicity. It is in this respect, as are most institutions, a reflex of the life of the people. The buildings are plain; there is no adornment; each part of the structure and furnishing is made for use. The faculty rooms are bare. The lecture rooms could hardly contain less without creating some want. The library building — which many American colleges are coming to adopt as an academic cathedral — is without beauty or impressiveness. Many of the museums seem like private houses.

The simplicity extends to the life of the professors. One may add that this simplicity arises in part at least from the conditions which they are obliged to adopt. The stipend for a full chair seldom or never exceeds twenty-five hundred dollars, and it may be as small as fifteen hundred. In fact, it usually begins at the lower sum and rises by only gradual increments to the higher. The cost of living in Holland, however, is small. A house can be rented for one hundred and fifty dollars a year.

Though Leiden is a city, it is a small one, and the entertainment which a Dutch home offers is of the plain and substantial sort, which appeals to the Dutch heart without drawing upon the domestic purse. The contrast in costliness between Leiden and the social and governmental capital of The Hague is deep. It is also to be added that the opportunities open to a Dutch professor for increasing his income by extra-mural services are as limited as they are to the ordinary American teacher. Nor is the necessity of using up his income much alleviated, by the hope of a large pension grant. This grant is one-half of the amount of his maximum salary. It never exceeds twelve hundred and fifty dollars. He may avail himself of it at the age of sixty-five, as in the case of the American Carnegie foundation, when he has the right to retire. At the age of seventy he is under obligation to retire.

The life of the student in the University of Leiden begins with the period known as the Green Time, and usually lasts longer than the four typical academic years. The Green Time is the technical name of the first few weeks of the first year. The first month of the new man in most colleges of the whole world is usually used by the older collegians to emphasize his newness and his freshness.

I know of no college in which this emphasis is more heavily laid on than in Leiden. The very name is significant. This Freshman is every one's servant. His head is shaved. His cap covering his bare crown indicates his newness. He carries about a book in which any older student may write his commands, — and commands, too, which the novitiate is obliged to obey. The penalty of disobedience would be social ostracism. These commands are as nonsensical as imagination can picture. Some of them, be it said, represent indignities which no American or English student would for an instant endure. Attempts are now being made to mitigate these absurdities and atrocities.

The students, like the professors, live in simplicity and freedom. Two students, and in some cases one, hire a whole house, paying enough to cover the rent for the whole house. "To attain this end," says a Leiden doctor, "the family merely has to retire decently into the back rooms, beyond the reach of the street noise, or to put up with convenient retirement in the attic under the roof-tiles. The hostess cares for the rooms, supplies the materials for breakfast, which are paid for weekly, and is expected to bear with angelic patience and resignation the noise

the lodger and his friends occasionally make, preferably in the night. Peculiarly noisy these 'gentlemen' are when it occurs to them to celebrate a *Kast-fuif* or 'cupboard feast,' — students in fact call the room a cupboard, owing to the fact that they find it so small. The festival consists of singing, gramaphonical and other music; noisy discussions of the means to render human society happier (or unhappier) than it is, — in other words social questions which students are always able to solve in a most satisfactory manner; jumping, dancing, friendly wrestling, indoor gymnastics, are other items on the programmes of amusement. At such entertainments there is a supper, more or less elaborate as the means of the student permit. The number of emptied bottles is the measure of the merriment, — or the reverse. It is considered solely a matter for the family themselves how much they may be disturbed by such festivities. The student has hardly any other contact with the townspeople, except the street battles with the unskilled laborers, with which the police interfere only after they are over. Townspeople, all alike, are called *plverton*, a word translatable as 'snobs.' Dinner is taken by the students in restaurants or at private 'student tables.' Payment is generally weekly. But

if a student lets his bill run indefinitely, the principle of liberty does not allow the academic authorities to interpose." [1]

With his Green Time past, the student enters into a life of freedom. Be it said that though the Dutch student comes to the university from a strenuous school life of a dozen years, he does not, as a rule, after the first year seriously abuse his freedom. He minds his books and his lectures. He is open to the charge rather of learning than of thinking. He knows more than the Oxford or Cambridge man of corresponding years and station, but he understands less. The Oxford system is open to the charge of pecuniary and scholastic extravagance. But it does train the individual. The Dutch system works too much upon the mass. The student in mind, as well as in body, is in peril of receiving more than he can digest and assimilate. He is open to the charge of mental gorging. If he took in less, he might keep more. If he learned less, he might know more. If he knew less, he might be a better thinker.

In the field of his knowledge, the attainments in the

[1] Dr. de Groot, University Life in Holland, *Hartford Seminary Record*, page 285.

modern languages of the Leiden man are to be specially noted. No student of the world knows German, French, or English as a spoken and read language better than the Dutch. This proficiency arises, in part at least, from the fact that his own language does not belong to the great school of modern tongues. He is, moreover, placed in a country where these languages seem to meet in a more natural and significant way than they do in any place, even in the polyglot land of Switzerland. But he does not know his Latin or his Greek with a corresponding fulness, or use the classical tongues with a corresponding facility. He is not steeped in the ancient linguistic traditions as is the Oxford graduate. He has not taken the Greek bath.

The evil of the intellectual process of gorging and cramming of the Dutch student, like that of the physical process of overeating, is accented by his presumption against exercise. The Dutch student, like the race, is disposed to lethargy. He has small fondness for sports. At Oxford or Cambridge, the playing fields or the river are the scene of games or sports every afternoon. At Leiden are few playing fields, and the canals, though as wide as the little stream at the "backs" at Cambridge, are not

vexed by academic oars as it would be well for them to be. The Leiden man prefers his club and his pipe to his bat or the oar. The Netherlands universities are among the few universities of the world in which the giving of larger attention to athletics would prove advantageous. Hockey, foot-ball, cricket, and tennis are the more popular sports.

Yet it must be said that though by common testimony the Dutch race is showing signs of racial neurasthenia, despite all the more apparent symptoms to the contrary, few students do break down. The race possesses a mighty physical strain. Four-fifths of all the students who enter take a degree. In America, only about one-half of the men who enter the Freshman class stand together at the close of four years to receive their diploma. Yet this life, so free from good physical exercises, does abound in many informal academic pleasures. The freedom of the life to which I have alluded is cause and condition of such happiness. I know of no college faculty which would permit such drawings to stand on the walls of its principal staircase as ornament the walls of the central building. In one of these drawings is pictured the student sitting in an examination room, fearful,

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The Student's Choice: Venus or Minerva.

Student under Examination.

nervous, with his hair on end from fright; on the other side of the staircase is seen the same student gleefully galloping away, bearing the symbol of his degree. In another drawing is seen the student with head bowed, and with seriousness imprinted on cheek and brow; on his right is pictured Venus seeking to win his allegiance, and on the left appears Minerva pointing out his scholastic duty. Though the scene is historic, suggesting a famous and beautiful passage in Xenophon's Memorabilia, it is not one which many academic faculties would permit to stand for years in an academic hall.

The number of students in the school of law is great, altogether too great. Lawyers in Holland, as in countries as unlike as Greece and America, are too numerous. The motives that lead a Hollander to study law are many and diverse. The profession seems to be in Holland, as in America, a method of preparation for other callings. The study, also, paves the way for holding offices in the state, offices which carry along with themselves much dignity. The law degree is secured with a small amount of work, a condition which proves to be attractive to some rich men. It is the testimony that the standard of the law examination is low and is becoming lower.

The condition in medicine is less lamentable. Work in the laboratory is required in addition to ordinary lectures. The students in medicine seem to be more mature than those in law.

The faculties of theology are in somewhat of an anomalous position. They are hardly faculties of theology; rather they stand for the science of religion. At the present time a division of the teaching, representing the different churches, is made between different universities. The Dutch Reformed Church supports teaching at Utrecht, Groningen, as well as Leiden; the Lutherans, the Baptists, and the Catholics at Amsterdam; and what is known as the Remonstrant Fraternity, at Leiden. These churches secure their priests or ministers, also, from their own special seminaries, which are in no respect connected with any one of the universities. The Calvinists, for instance, have an institution in Amsterdam, aided somewhat by the state, which has about one hundred and seventy students. The lapse in religious earnestness occurring in three hundred years seems to be great, and some would add, deplorable.

One does not forget that Leiden is only one of the four universities of the little republican kingdom. Amster-

dam, Utrecht, and Groningen complete the quartette. Alike are they in essential respects, more alike than the universities of Germany. Amsterdam, however, represents more of a municipal relationship than either of the other three, as becometh the size and importance of its city; Groningen, in the north, is more local in its clientele. Utrecht and Leiden stand forth in the greater historic and larger human relations.

Yet it is to be noted that Leiden is still Hollandish. Students do not come from foreign lands to Holland or to Leiden, as they do come to Paris, Berlin, and Edinburgh. The language, not being a world language, is a bar to the foreign student. These men and women, eleven hundred of them, are largely Dutch. For a nation so small in square inches of territory, Holland is the greatest nation. She has wrought more and better for civilization than any other of her size. But she still does not belong to the great human movement. Therefore, students find their way more easily to Vienna and to Paris than to Leiden or Utrecht. But if Holland does not attract the students of the world, neither do the world-centres of education attract her students. Her universities are sufficient for her sons and her daughters, and the sufficiency is a noble one indeed.

and the town is the university. Or it might be compared to a German university by reason of its similarity in administration and origin. But when one has sounded all the comparisons, he will conclude simply by saying that — Upsala is Upsala.

The Upsala of the present has come out of a past which, like its present, unites the glories and the struggles of many forces and fortunes. The town itself is replete with mythologies and traditions. According to one Scandinavian legend it was the home of the gods, and according to another its foundation belongs to the time of Christ. But whatever mythology or tradition may offer, it is clear that the greatness of Sweden is associated with Upsala, for Upsala was the early capital: here the kings had their simple palaces and here also the mediæval parliaments met; here also, in 1654, occurred the abdication of Queen Christina, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus. While paganism was dominant its great temple was at Upsala, and when the idols had been thrown down, Archbishop Stephanus here set up his archbishopric in 1164. Here too, in 1593, the Swedish Diet, after a prolonged and hard struggle, decided that Lutheran Protestantism should be the state religion.

But of all events that have occurred at Upsala, the one most pregnant for the Swedish and Scandinavian people, and, it may be, for the world, was the foundation in 1477 of its university.

Of the universities Germanic in origin and administration, twelve had been founded previous to the foundation of Upsala. In the one hundred and twenty-five years between 1348, when the University of Prague was founded, and the year 1473, when the University of Treves had its origin, were established the universities of Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne, Erfurt, Leipsic, Rostock, Greifswald, Freiburg, Basel, and Ingolstadt. In the same year of 1477, Mentz and Tübingen were established. Wittenberg, since transferred to Halle, and Frankfort-on-the-Oder, since transferred to Breslau, were to follow in the next generation. The age was indeed an intellectual renaissance. The universities were both cause and result of the dawning of the new light.

Like the larger number of German universities, the University of Upsala received its permission to come into being by the decree of the Pope. Sixtus IV, the Regent of Sweden, Sten Sture the Elder, and Ulfsson, Archbishop of Upsala, were the triumvirate who laid the great founda-

tion. The following one hundred years of troublous times represent a hard and unpromising infancy. The Catholics and the Protestants battled for its possession. The university, like the home, is a foe to war of any sort, ecclesiastical or civil. The establishment of Protestantism as the state religion in 1593 was the beginning of academic quiet and progress. Seven years afterward the first celebration for the giving of degrees occurred. Presently appeared one whom we may call its second founder, Gustavus Adolphus. This great man and ruler endowed it through his estates and library, and called illustrious scholars to its chairs of instruction. Since the middle of the seventeenth century its academic condition and position have been secure. In times of penury and of wealth, of national prosperity and adversity, of scholarly progress and regress, it has stood forth with increasing power and impressiveness as the worthiest intellectual force of the Scandinavian peninsula.

The university of Upsala is essentially a Scandinavian, or even a Swedish, institution. It lacks those world relationships which characterize Berlin and Leipsic, Vienna and Oxford. Its fifteen hundred students are principally the sons and daughters of Sweden. Its

But next to the worth of the student body stands the worth of the teaching staff. In its four hundred years and more of existence Upsala has had the services of great scholars, great teachers, and great men. The names of most of these professors are unknown to the Anglo-Saxon world. But two names stand forth with peculiar conspicuousness. The two names, moreover, represent the two great movements of humanity, the scientific and the literary. One is Linnæus, child of Sweden, born two hundred years ago, poor in purse, but in the penury of his early teens indicating his scientific genius. In 1728 he went to Upsala. In hunger and cold and at times despair he lived. He was rescued almost by accident by Celsius, Professor of Theology, who gave him congenial employment and took him into his own house. From this time the career of Linnæus was like the course of a great river, deepening and enlarging as it went on. He became Professor of Botany at Upsala in 1741, and continued to hold the chair for thirty-seven years. The father of systematic botany gave to the university of which he was a student and a teacher great and enduring fame.

Five years after Linnæus died was born in Sweden Eric Gustaf Geijer. He too became early in life a student of the

University of Upsala, and at the age of thirty-two was appointed Professor of History, a chair which he held to the year before his death, in 1847. It is not, however, to his work as Professor of History only that the Swedish nation is in lasting debt to Geijer. In the great contest between French classicism and the romantic school, Geijer was one of the leaders of the romanticists. His personality and his writings in the *Iduna*, the organ of his party, contributed much to the establishment of the taste of the Swedish people. Great was the service which Geijer rendered to the nation through his poems, but even greater was the service which he gave in his "History of the Swedish People." As a teacher, expositor, poet, and historian he became to and through the University of Upsala a minister to the Swedish nation and to all peoples.

With a third great name — the greatest of them all — is Upsala associated, although the man who bore it never set foot in its lofty halls. The university library contains the translation of the Bible made by Ulfilas, the bishop among the Goths. Such parts of this version as have come down to us and other evidence prove that Ulfilas was among the profoundest of scholars and the boldest and most faithful of the apostles of early Christianity. This

manuscript of one hundred and eighty-seven pages lifted a barbarian tongue into a literary language. It is still the great treasure-house for a knowledge of the early Gothic.

In the conception of a college which obtains in America buildings occupy an important — too important — place. For buildings are a condition and not a force. But of the buildings of the University of Upsala a paragraph should be written. For in certain respects they are unique. The chief of these buildings is the university hall. It is of the Renaissance type. The Renaissance is not a good type for college architecture. It is too ornate and elaborate. But the unfitting elaborateness of Upsala's hall is embodied largely in the exterior. Within, a college building of the Renaissance form may be at once noble and convenient for college purposes. The interior of the chief building of Upsala is splendid and useful. When one passes within its wide portals, the noble atrium, the great senate-chamber, the passageways adorned with sculptures, appeal to the artistic imagination and the æsthetic taste with a force which even the University of Vienna does not approach. But of all the parts of the structure, the most impressive is the series of administrative offices. This series begins with the chancellor's office, and is followed by other offices

or rooms for the four faculties. These rooms occupy the front of the second story. They are simply council-chambers. Their space is ample, their walls high, their furniture rich and heavy. Portraits of teachers and benefactors look down from the walls. These rooms are a microcosm of the noblest life of a noble nation for four hundred years.

The government of the university, beginning with the king, runs down through a chancellor and vice-chancellor and rector to minor authorities. The vice-chancellor is the Archbishop of Upsala.

The faculties attend to ordinary concerns — scholastic, ecclesiastical, disciplinary. The support of the university is derived from grants made by the government, and also from the income of estates given by Gustavus Adolphus, as well as from small fees. Students are admitted upon evidence of their having passed certain intermediate schools and having proved their fitness by examination. In those ordinary respects of administration, of lecturing and teaching, of academic duties and routine, of laboratories and libraries, Upsala is much like the well-equipped American college.

VI

THE UNIVERSITY OF MADRID

THE history of the University of Madrid, and, in fact, of each of the Spanish universities, is like the history of the Spanish nation. It is a history prolonged, complex, filled with lights and shadows, containing forces which have not been of the noblest sort, and also with results which have not possessed great relationships. The history of Spain is a world-history, yet it is a most individualistic one. Spain, from the beginning, has shut out the world by its mountains and its waters. The history of the higher education in Spain has certain large relations; yet the universities began early a development which has also represented individualism in education. Roman, Visigoth, Arab, Moor, Moslem, Jew, Christian, have mingled together in these valleys; and out of this sifting of the East and of the West, of the North and of the South, has come forth a peculiar people. Many elements have entered, therefore, into the history of the higher education in the Iberian Peninsula. Yet, the consummate result is one which is individualistic.

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From the year 700 down to the death of Philip II., in 1598, learning was cultivated. The Spanish schools were at many times eminent, and at some times really great. Cordova in the south and Zaragoza in the north were, in the centuries following the one thousandth year, the Oxford and the Cambridge of Spain. The Jews of Cordova, the successors of the Greeks in philosophy, as in many respects they are in commerce and finance, continued and quickened the great historic conditions of scholarship and of learning. The Arabs, to whom mankind is in debt for some of its most precious treasures, enlarged the noble traditions and helped to make the Moslem universities not only schools for and of the prophets, but also centres and springs of living culture. In the two centuries following the one thousandth year, when scholastic darkness rested upon many parts of the Continent, the scholars of Cordova were studying the heavens, the earth, and the body of man in a science as exact as the world had known. In Aragon and Catalonia were compiled codes of laws from the *Lex Visigothorum*, and in Castile the learned Alfonso translated into the vernacular a code which served as an adaptation of the Roman Law for the rest of Europe. The universities of England and of Italy came to Spain for philosophy

and for medicine. The discovery of new worlds, the progress of commerce, the dominance of Spanish power, opened new opportunities for the advancement of literary culture and of scholastic education. The higher schools of the Peninsula rivalled those of the Continent and of Britain.

But, at the zenith of its great power, the beginnings of the decline of Spain were apparent. This decline is embodied in Philip II. This man, — sinister, sad, sombre, selfish, the builder of the Escorial, the plunderer of life, — was not only the sum of bad forces, but also the beginning of worse forces to follow. For the inquisition was the symbol of the fall. The university represented freedom of inquiry. The inquisition represented the auto-da-fe as the inevitable result of the freedom of inquiry. The Spanish people, in their attempt to destroy heresy, destroyed education, and helped to destroy themselves. Universities ceased to be mothers of men, nurses of movements, the seed-plots of great forces, and became handmaids of a narrow ecclesiasticism. The Renaissance of the sixteenth century, which opened a new life to Europe, could not revivify the dying body of Spanish scholarship. The oil of the altar was not the oil to feed the lamp of truth.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century to the

present, — a period covered by the history of the higher education in America, — it would not be fair to say that the decline in the Spanish universities has been continued. But the history is one filled at once with lights and darknesses. When I told a friend and associate that I was going to Madrid to study its university, he said, "There is no University of Madrid." The remark was at once true and false, for there is no University of Madrid worthy of the higher relations of Spanish history, but there is one perhaps not wholly unworthy of the present culture and educational ideals of the Spain of to-day. For a nation will have colleges and universities just as good as it is worthy of.

The Romance nations do not now regard the higher education with that respect which it receives among Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon peoples. Spain has universities of the number of the Muses. The university in Madrid is called Universidad Central. Yet the building of this university one might pass and re-pass without thinking of it as other than a respectable warehouse. It lacks every sort of impressiveness. The building which it occupies belonged formerly to the Jesuits. This lack of impressiveness is due, in part, to the location. It is placed close to the street,

and the lower windows of the first of its two stories are heavily barred. The huge double doorway does not seem to take away a certain sorry and gloomy aspect. The building might serve very well as a prison for women, which is, indeed, not far away. Within the gate, the impression of the commonplace is somewhat, but not entirely, removed. The corridors run about the four-square court and open into the several lecture rooms, the library, and the administrative offices. The desolateness is somewhat further relieved by the garden in the rear, upon which a large doorway and a flight of steps immediately open. The contrast between the plainness of the most modern of the Spanish universities and the façade of the university at Salamanca, in its grotesque style, with its medallion portraits of Ferdinand and Isabella, is significant. The nation which has such cathedrals as are found at Burgos and at Toledo, and yet which houses its capital university in such ugliness and commonplaceness, has fallen to the nadir of educational enthusiasm and aggressiveness.

The organization of instruction is, in many respects, of the German type. But there is greater detail in the division of the faculty. The courses offered are, on the whole, elementary. Among them, the literary and the

historical are conspicuous. In such teaching three names, and three only, are great: Menendez y Pelago, Bonilla, and Menendez Pidel. Science suffers. For scientific instruction is costly, and Spain is poor. Scientific instruction represents advancement; Spain is a laggard. It would be hard to find a nation more derelict in respect to technical matters — despite a few technical schools — than is Spain. She prefers to sell her iron ore to England and to Germany rather than to smelt it herself. A modern university might be called a collection of laboratories, but the laboratory development of the University of Madrid is yet to be made. A modern university might also be called a collection of books, and of books to be used, but this condition is almost as lamentable as the scientific. The library of the University of Madrid is a collection of books, but of books apparently to be kept. The rooms are monastic; the books are monastic. The light which streams in from dim window in roof or wall is dimly religious. Wires and glass, locks and cases, guard the collections. Manuscript after manuscript was shown to me, at the time of my visit, illustrating the skill of monastic scholarship of five hundred years ago (at one time Spain had nine thousand monasteries), as the most pre-

cious treasures of the collection. The whole atmosphere was remote from present vital scholarship and from the active progress of search for the truth.

The medical instruction offered by the University of Madrid has one signal advantage. If abundant clinical material and the number of hospitals help toward the making of good doctors, the doctors of Madrid and of Spain should be first-rate. The hospitals are numerous and of a size simply tremendous. Two of them remind the visitor of the dimensions and strength of the Escorial. The clinical rooms for outside patients are among the best I have ever seen. A walk along a street reveals cases which the professor of any one of the dozen departments of medicine might be glad to get hold of for use before his students. But the presence of certain diseases in men and women proves that medical instruction is unworthy. From the hour of birth to his *nunc dimittis*, the modern Spaniard has not the advantage of the best medical skill. Spain has had only one practitioner who would rank with the great practitioners and consultants. Spain is almost as poor in her scholars, although there is one great physiologist and pathologist Ramon y Cajal. I have seen operations in the clinical amphitheatre of Hildebrand of

Berlin which would surprise the modern doctor of Castile quite as much as they would have astounded Gil Blas. As John Hay says in his charming "Castilian Days," "An ordinary Spaniard is sick but once in his life, and that once is enough — 'twill serve. The traditions of the old satires, which represented the doctor and death as always hunting in couples, still survive in Spain. It is taken as so entirely a matter of course that a patient must die that the law of the land imposed a heavy fine upon physicians who did not bring a priest on their second visit. His labor of exhortation and confession was rarely wasted. There were few sufferers who recovered from the shock of that solemn ceremony in their chambers. Medical science still labors in Spain under the ban of ostracism, imposed in the days when all research was impiety. The inquisition clamored for the blood of Vesalius, who had committed the crime of a demonstration in anatomy. He was forced into a pilgrimage of expiation, and died on the way to Palestine. The Church has always looked with a jealous eye upon the inquirers, the innovators. Why these probes, these lancets, these multifarious drugs when the object in view could be so much more easily obtained by the judicious application of masses and prayers?"

[1] "Castilian Days," by John Hay, pages 47, 48.

Theology has little, or no, part in the instruction of the University. Instruction in it is, immediately and directly, under the charge of the Church. This condition is advantageous, — for the Church has for its chief word "believe," and the university for its chief word "ask." The one looks toward the past; it conjugates "believe" in the past tense and the present. The other looks toward the future and conjugates its verbs in the future tense.

Upon progress in both theology and medicine, the power of the Church rests with the weight of death. Theology is, in many relations, a science. Medicine is both a science and an art. The Church does not stand primarily for either art or science. When, therefore, the Church seeks to direct education in medicine or in theology, the result is unfortunate. Simplicity of relationship is a good principle in any department of education. Wherever relationships become mixed, the result is stagnation, or regression. In Spain, theological and medical education has become thoroughly involved with the Church, and the result is that medical education has not become more educative nor the Church more holy. Theological education, also, has become largely a matter of tradition and not a search for the truth.

The influence of the universities, it must be confessed, is slight. The fact is that universities are at once the cause and the result of the Zeit-Geist. Spain is a nation whose greatness is conjugated in the past tense and the passive voice. Its people are physically undernourished, intellectually resting under the spell of the Church or of agnostic indifferentism, emotionally gifted with sentiments stronger than the will can guide, and ethically determined to follow the individualistic basis. The highest purposes do not control. The lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride, not of life but of living, dominate. Of course, exceptions may be found both of individuals and of certain classes. But, on the whole, the Spanish people — leaving out the strong race of the Catalonians of the northeast — are, like parts of their soil, exhausted. Under such conditions, it is impossible to make a great university. This impossibility, too, is accentuated still further, and emphatically, by the lack of good secondary education. If Spain should ever rise from its twilight, its central university at Madrid, together with its sister schools, will also rise, and may become the morning star of a new and vigorous education; or, possibly, may become the sun itself, which shall create the day of culture and enlightenment. But,

both for the nation and for the university of its capital, there is at present no prospect of the dawn.

As one reflects upon, and is depressed by, the low condition of the universities of Spain, it is impossible not to be brought to the conclusion that the causes of this present state lie far back in the past. If, when Charles Fifth, and his son, Philip Second, were seeking to make Spain a great centre of artistic interests,—which they succeeded in doing, — they had turned their thought and will to the creation of a system of higher education, how incalculable would have been the result for their nation and for humanity, — as incalculable, indeed, as the suggestion seems romantic and absurd. For art has for its primary aim the giving of pleasure, the pleasure becoming higher as the art becomes nobler. Education has for its purpose the creation of power. Art seeks to develop the faculties of perception and of appreciation in the individual. Education seeks not only to develop these faculties, but also to train the will. Art is in peril of developing the individual at the expense of all. Education seeks to serve and to save all. For lack of knowledge, the people perish, but never for lack of art. The æsthetic endeavors of Charles and his son did not prevent the disintegration of their

kingdom. Some might say that those endeavors hastened the process of decline. Education of three hundred years ago would have saved Spain from that educational and human apogee in which she now rests. The year in which Philip Second finished the Escorial was the year in which Sir Walter Mildmay founded Emmanuel College, Cambridge. From that College came the Founder of Harvard and many of the fathers of New England. The Spain of to-day illustrates the difference in the significance of the two events.

VII

THE UNIVERSITY OF GENEVA

UNIVERSITIES, like poems and pictures, are largely determined in their character by their environment. Given a location wherein great history has been making for two thousand years; where Germany, France, and Italy unite as on neutral territory; a spot which Ruskin calls the "most lovely and the most notable, without any possible dispute, of the European universe"; given, too, a climate in which, as say the guide-books, "the heat is always bearable and the cold is never excessive"; and given, also, a people whose fathers have won their political independence, and are able to maintain their political rights rather by the sufferance of the European concert than by the force of their own arms; given a city which M. Guizot used to say represented one of the two ecclesiastical centres of Europe; a city, moreover, whose people have been called the most cultivated of the world, whose social relations are simple, free at once from the extremes of both luxury and poverty; given a people, furthermore, small in

University of Geneva.

numbers, as compared with the population of metropolitan cities; given a community, also, progressive without radicalism, one whose religion is both Protestant and Catholic, in whom also is found the heritage of great respect for education, — given all of these conditions, what shall be the type of the university that shall emerge? How far forth shall early conditions determine future and ultimate development? The early people of Geneva, says John Morley, "had a zeal for religion, a vigorous energy in government, a passion for freedom, a devotion to ingenious industries, which marked them with a stamp unlike that of any other community." [1] The type, indeed, shall not be an Oxford, for Oxford is the home of the Middle Ages and the nurse of high and narrow traditionalism. Neither shall it be a Leipsic, or a Berlin, for the university on the Spree represents imperialism in scholarship. Nor shall it be a St. Petersburg, for the university on the Neva stands for limitations in undergraduate movement and student life. Rather the result shall be an illustration of the Aristotelian doctrine of the golden mean — a university in which students shall neither be so numerous as they are in Berlin nor so few as they are in Rostock; in which pro-

[1] Rousseau, I, 9.

fessors shall belong to the great third estate of scholarship and teaching; in which the courses of instruction shall embody the large historic movements of learning and of tuition; and in which student life shall be simple without plainness, and dignified without luxuriousness. Such, indeed, is the result as embodied in the University of Geneva.

Behind this result, at present obtaining, lies a prolonged and pregnant history. This history begins, for our immediate purpose, with John Calvin, under whose guidance and inspiration Geneva founded, in 1559, an academy having the four faculties of Philosophy, Jurisprudence, Theology, and the Natural Sciences. It is to the disadvantage of Calvin that the greatness of his fame as a theologian has obscured his merits as an educator and administrator. Of him a writer of the traditions and beliefs of George Bancroft could say:

"Calvin was the father of popular education, the inventor of the system of free schools. . . . The Pilgrims of Plymouth were Calvinists; the best influence in South Carolina came from the Calvinists of France. William Penn was the disciple of the Huguenots; the ships from Holland that first brought colonists to Manhattan were filled with Calvinists. He that will not honor the memory and re-

spect the influence of Calvin, knows but little of the origin of American liberty." In the regard which Calvin paid to education, elementary and advanced, he was simply illustrating and promoting the intellectual movement which preceded, accompanied, and followed the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. The principles upon which the academy of Calvin at Geneva was founded were logically and pedagogically sound, and its methods of administration efficient. The general course of study was not unlike that prevailing to-day in the best fitting schools, omitting the sciences and the modern languages. The Greek and Latin authors read then are the ones which are still read, and the order of reading was that which yet obtains. The students in Calvin's institution were obliged to follow a strict regimen. The rules governing their behavior were more personal than emerged in the history of Harvard College, almost one hundred years after. Cards, dancing, banquets, "les réunions joyeuses *inter pocula*" were prohibited. Even the freedom of "drinking punch in a sober manner," which was later allowed to Harvard men, was denied to the Genevese student. The moral and ecclesiastical beliefs, too, to which the teachers were obliged to assent were stiff, although not unreasonable, seen in the

light of the religious methods of the second half of the sixteenth century. Anabaptists, as well as Romanists, were not to be suffered to ravage the sheepfold of the true faith. Great names adorned the history of the institution at the beginning and for more than a century and a half. The greatest of these names, after that of Calvin, was Besa, who was his successor in the Chair of Theology, in whose arms he died, and who for forty-one years was a teacher. From many parts and for diverse purposes, came those who were enrolled upon the teaching staff. Thomas Cartwright and Andrew Melville came from England as lecturers. From Germany, as well as from France, were called professors. Joseph Justus Scaliger, acknowledged as the chief scholar of his time, here lectured for two years, from 1572 to 1574. Isaac Casaubon filled the Chair of Greek from 1582 to 1596. Charles Frederick Necker was a Professor of Law from 1725 to 1762. Jacob Vernet served in the Chair of Literature from 1739 to 1756, and in that of Hebrew from 1756 to 1786. Horace Benedict de Saussure was Professor of Philosophy for almost a quarter of a century, beginning his term in 1762.

In the last years of the eighteenth century occurred a singular episode in the history of the university. Political

disturbances were ravaging the academic establishment. The professors were dissatisfied with their environment. It was a time in America when the French influence was strong. From both Geneva and from the state of Virginia came intimations of a willingness to transplant the faculty of the university to the New World. Jefferson had given up his idea of trying to develop the old William and Mary College into a state university. Correspondence between Jefferson, Washington, and representatives of the university at Geneva shows that, had the people of Virginia favored the scheme, the Academy of Calvin might have become the University of Jefferson. Among the teachers who it was proposed should come to America were Mouchon, Pictet, Senebier, Bertrand and L'Huilleir, Prévost and De Saussure. These men were distinguished largely for their researches in mathematics and in the physical and natural sciences. But the conservative Virginians thought the scheme too expensive. The appeal which Jefferson made to Washington for support did not receive encouragement. The sober-minded Washington doubted the wisdom of bringing a body of foreigners into America who might not be familiar with the language and whose political environment was unlike our own. He also believed that if for-

eigners were to be elected as professors they should not all hail from a single nation. The verdict of Washington restrained the enthusiasm of Jefferson. Presently the project came to an end. Jefferson had to wait more than a quarter of a century before founding a university, one into which he did finally bring great men who were foreigners. The academy at Geneva was thus privileged to pursue its normal and historic development. In the year 1873, more than three centuries after the foundation of the academy, the university was finally and formally established.

The physical conditions were and are not without a certain general relation to the great principle of Aristotle of the golden mean. On one side of a noble park stand the buildings erected thirty years ago. The main entrance is made through the bastions, symbol of rest and of pleasure. The rear walls abut on the public street, significant of human relationships. Near by is the noble theatre. The buildings are three, built on as many sides of the square, yet so united as to appear as one. The architecture is of the German type, of strength and of plainness. In the central hallways reminders of the University of Berlin emerge. The lecture and other rooms, too, represent the German type. Much, also, of the physical apparatus seems

to have a certain heaviness indicative of Teutonic origin. If the Germans, by the way, are greater than the Americans in forming theories of the great laws of nature, in making instruments to present these theories and to illustrate these laws, the new people over the seas are far more apt.

A similar large and common character is manifest in the courses of instruction which are offered the students. Unique courses are seldom proposed. I find, for instance, no such affluence of offerings of courses in the mathematical and physical sciences as Harvard University sets forth in these departments. Leaving out certain subjects offered by the *privat docents*, the better denominational colleges of Illinois, of Minnesota, or of Iowa are giving as full instruction to their students in the great scientific subjects as the University of Geneva. The comparison to the American college cannot be so fully or advantageously extended as to cover the *sciences sociales*. The historical grammar of the Romance languages, the classification and general history of the sciences — historical and geographical — and Egyptology represent courses, too, which are not given in the larger share of the American colleges.

Yet the place occupied by the "Seminary" in Geneva is one which represents an opportunity seldom offered to the American student. The opportunity is becoming open to him, and as he proves himself more worthy of the closer personal association which it represents, and more able to discuss the problems which it formally and informally offers, it will become his privilege more constantly and in larger relations.

The type of theology which is taught in the lecture rooms of the university is not what would be called in New England "Calvinistic." Although Dean Montet, Professor Chantre, and other members of the faculty of theology still think of themselves as the spiritual descendants of John Calvin, yet the kinship is one rather of atmosphere than of specific beliefs. The rallying cries are "essential religion," "spiritual Christianity," "vitality and breadth," and "freedom of thought." The ideal conception, both theological and political, is found in the free church in the free state. The members of the faculty find their theological associates in such scholars and teachers as Otto Pfleiderer and Adolf Harnack of Berlin, Professor J. Eslin Carpenter of Oxford, Dean Fremantle of Ripon, Professor Oort of Leiden, and in leaders of the liberal movement in religion

of the United States, such as Professor Francis G. Peabody of Harvard and Dr. Samuel A. Eliot.

Forces which make a college valuable to a student are numerous and diverse in origin and application. Among such forces are the personality of the teacher, and, to a degree, his reputation, the formation of the habit of work, the enrichment of friendship, and a deepening acquaintance with men. The personalities who constitute the faculty of Geneva and of the other Swiss universities do not, or cannot, lay claim to such eminence as belongs to Haeckel at Jena, to Weissman at Freiburg in Baden, or to several of the great men at Berlin. The most famous member of the staff of Geneva of recent decades was, of course, Amiel.

But the fame of Amiel is not primarily academic. He belongs to humanity and not to the plane-trees. Amiel died in 1881. One of his students said to me recently that his college lectures were comparatively without interest. The number of his students was small. Purposely, he declined to impress either his personality or his message upon his auditors. His respect for their individuality was so great that he refused to ask them to accept of his own. "He protects the intellectual freedom . . . of his

students with the same jealousy as he protects his own. There shall be no oratorical device, no persuading, no cajoling of the mind this way or that." Mrs. Ward also says in her Introduction to his "Journal," "As a professor he made no mark." She further quotes one of his students as saying: "His pupils at Geneva never learned to appreciate him at his true worth. We did justice, no doubt, to a knowledge as varied as it was wide, to his vast stores of reading, to that cosmopolitanism of the best kind which he had brought back with him from his travels; we liked him for his indulgence, his kindly wit. But I look back without any sense of pleasure to his lectures." For, in the academic lecture he was a different being from the writer of the "Journal Intime." *Schematismus* took the place of interpretation, intellectual framework of speculation; and formal presentation of formal truth stood in the stead of expositions of the relation of man to the two worlds of the finite and the infinite between which he ever moves. It was not until after the publication of a few of the seventeen thousand pages of his manuscripts that his students and the Genevese realized that their city had had its Dante. In the university signs of his presence are not lacking. A noble bust stands near the

entrance to the Aula — a bust which conveys an impression of spirit, vigor, and the alertness of a doer in the world's work far more impressively than any one of the several photographs which I have seen intimates.

But an environment historic and vital may, in certain respects, have an influence as valuable as is the influence of personality. An environment — noble, impressive — touches the student of the University of Geneva. For here Rousseau labored to make the community, as well as Calvin the Church, democratic. Here the cause of international arbitration began its great and enlarging history and achieved one of its greatest results, settling grave questions touching England, the United States, and the world, in what is known as the Geneva Award. Here the Red Cross movement had its origin, and here, too, the cause of minority representation in political bodies — a cause which is sure to have its revival — took its beginning. Amiel says, under date of the 6th of July, 1880: "Geneva is a caldron always at boiling-point, a furnace of which the fires are never extinguished. Vulcan had more than one forge, and Geneva is certainly one of those world-anvils on which the greatest number of projects have been hammered out. When one thinks that the martyrs of all

causes have been at work here, the mystery is explained a little; but the truest explanation is that Geneva, — republican, protestant, democratic, learned, and enterprising Geneva — has for centuries depended on herself alone for the solution of her own difficulties. Since the Reformation she has been always on the alert, marching with a lantern in her left hand and a sword in her right."

Personalities many and great have their association for the student in this academic neighborhood. The streets are generally named after the great men of Geneva. For it is not simply the city of Calvin and of Rousseau, it is the city of Voltaire, of Madame de Staël, of Necker, and of men as diverse as Sey, the political economist, of Ampère, and of Albert Gallatin. Here Guizot spent his early life; here John Knox preached two years; and hither in 1829 came Sir Humphry Davy to die, having as his companion his "greatest discovery," Faraday. Time would fail one to tell of Victor Cherbuliez, of Wagner, — who here wrote a part of his "Valkyrie" — of musicians, of statesmen, of poets, like Byron, whose personalities or works are associated with the little city and make it of inspiring and achieving force for the student. This influence of atmosphere belongs to all the students in

at least some degree. It also serves to unite the diverse conditions of men and women who hither come into the academic community. For the community is composed of both men and women, of students of the summer schools, as well as of the more regular matriculants, and of hearers — a form of the university community which exists in many Continental universities in a larger degree than in the United States, and which is worthy of a more careful elaboration. The summer school in the French language and literature appears of special significance. It is designed particularly for foreign teachers who give instruction in this language and who are staying in Geneva a few weeks. Into this community come constantly foreigners of many nationalities, among whom Russians are conspicuous. For Geneva is a city of refugees. It occupies a place such as Holland's cities filled three hundred years ago. The university partakes of the freedom and hospitality of its community. Many Germans matriculate for a semester to learn French, the Russians to learn medicine, and the Americans — not many — to learn a bit of many things, or, less often, much of one.

Geneva is only one of the universities of its little Switzerland. Basel, founded in 1460; Lausanne, founded as

an academy in 1537, and as a university in 1890; Zürich, founded in 1832; Bern, founded in 1834; Freiburg, founded in 1889, — have each secured a high educational place, though in its historic impressiveness Geneva is unique. But Geneva and her five companions are noble illustrations of the spirit and power of democracy. Their support is derived largely from the cantons in which they are located. Although the constitution of 1848 authorized the federal government to erect and to maintain a polytechnic school and university, the university has not been established. The cantons support their universities with a willingness which is as great as obtains in the states of the American Union touching their respective state universities. The University of Zürich is maintained by a commonwealth of but three hundred and fifty thousand people, and within an area of less than seven hundred square miles. Basel, with a population of less than one hundred thousand, supports its university. They are examples of the power of an enlightened democracy which interests itself in the highest education. This interest is not confined, either, to the cause of liberal learning. For the technical schools of Zürich are among the best of the world.

The republic of the United States and the republic of Switzerland are alike in their belief in the necessity of the highest education for the highest life of the people. The spirit of Geneva and the spirit also of every worthy university town is well indicated in an inscription which is cut in a stone tablet, placed in the centre of the outer wall of the building, to the effect that in the dedication of this building to the higher studies, the people of Geneva acknowledge the benefits conferred by an institution which guarantees the fundamental principles of liberty. This sentiment, liberally translated from the French, is only a modern version of the Hebrew principle, "Where there is no vision the people perish."

VIII

THE UNIVERSITY OF ROME

ITALIAN universities represent great academic origins. These origins belong to those pregnant centuries, the thirteenth and fourteenth, when no less than nine universities —the number of the colleges established in America before the Revolution — were founded. Padua, Naples, Siena, Pisa, as well as Rome, are among these historic foundations. Before this period, Bologna had had its beginning, and immediately after, Turin. Their history embodies educational foundations laid by municipalities and also represents civic support given by citizens. For the old Roman municipal system long persisted, and the city life of Italy could not be swept away by either the Gothic, the Lombard, or other invasions. Though established in the land of the Pope and often by his bull, these universities were free from ecclesiastical control. Though free from ecclesiastical control, yet religion played an important part in their progress; and some of them were established with the definite purpose of the religious conversion

University of Rome.

of the Turks and other nations of the East. The historic connection of educational reforms and religious movements found an early example in the fact that the triumph of humanism in both Italy and Germany was due, in a large degree, to its association with the Reformation. The government of the universities by their students, going so far as the election of rector and professors, has impressive illustrations in many of the Italian institutions. Florence has the honor of the establishment of the first professorship in Europe of Greek, and also Florence was the first to establish a professorship of poetry, of which Boccaccio was the first incumbent. Naples, too, was the first university of Europe to be founded by a definite charter at a definite time, with the partial exception of Palencia. The migration of students as individuals or in bodies finds many illustrations in the movings of students from Bologna to Pisa, to Siena, and to Vicenza; and the modern method of hiring professors and students to come from one university to another has an example in Florence, seeking to attract seceding Bolognese men. The traffic in cheap degrees began in the fifteenth century at Piacenza; and the dissolution and extinction of universities, a process not unknown in the New World, began with Reggio in the

thirteenth century, continued with Verchelli in the fourteenth, and came to its consummation in the ending of the University of Florence, — humanistic Florence, — in the fifteenth.

But perhaps the most impressive of all the origins which have their place and their date in Italy is found in the old building of the University of Bologna. In a little cedar-ceiled room of this building, in the thirteenth century, dissections of the human body were first made for medical purposes, and here Galvani lectured.

These diverse and significant influences and forces are gathered together in the university founded on the banks of the Tiber. For the University of Rome is a school of religion, not a school of ecclesiastical partisanship. On a tablet placed in the wall of its building over the principal entrance are cut these words, "Initium sapientiæ Timor Domini," a phrase which is also inscribed in the university church at Freiburg in Baden. The patriotism, too, which blossoms in the history of Italian universities is manifest in the courts of the Roman university. Here are set statues of Victor Emmanuel and of Garibaldi, erected by professors and students; and upon the wall is also fixed a tablet memorial of the men of the university who fell

fighting for their country in 1872. Of course, too, whatever historic scholarship embodies is found presented in these recitation and lecture rooms.

The great historic disciplines are here offered by three hundred teachers to three thousand students. But besides these disciplines, such unique courses as pedagogy, diplomacy, and English philology are set down in the curriculum. In all the universities of Europe and of America, the great body of instruction is alike, but different universities offer certain unique courses.

Every university, however, should develop along the lines of least resistance. Every university should employ those methods and emphasize those truths which its location or conditions fit it to employ and to emphasize with the smallest expenditure and unto the noblest effectiveness. The University of Rome has almost unconsciously used this method and adopted this principle. The University of Rome, while not neglecting other great subjects of study and of thought, does specially represent archæology and the social sciences. Of course one of the richest fields of archæology lies at its door, as the presence of the American school, and the French, of Classical Studies, and the great German Institute, prove. The social

sciences, too, find their material for teaching and illustration in a population, ancient and teeming, such as Italy possesses. The professor best known to Americans is Lanciani, but equally known to many and occupying as important a place are Loewy and Gubernatis.

In addition to the faculties of medicine and law, of physical, mathematical, and natural sciences, and of philosophy and letters, two or three unique departments are founded as parts of the university system. One is a school of Diplomacy, having special reference to training men for service in the colonies. In Europe most schools of engineering, too, are independent foundations; but connected with the University of Rome is a school of Applied Science. It is still small, both in the number of its students and of its teachers, and the technical equipment is very limited; but the very fact of its establishment as a part of the university is significant. Here, too, is founded a school of Applied Science of Agriculture, which both as a force and as an intimation of interest on the part of the people has much meaning.

The comprehensive remark, however, to be made regarding the higher education in Italy, as seen in the University of Rome and other universities, is that it is characterized

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by formalism. This remark, too, might have an interpretation wider than the higher education. For the emphasis in every grade of education is placed upon ritual. Technique has taken the place of life. Interest, force, spirit, have fled. Teachers seem on the whole sluggish, and students either unruly or listless. Penmanship illustrates, in a simple way, the attention paid to mere form. The handwriting is of a highly florid style, in which emphasis is put on light and shading. It is a style hard to learn and also hard to use. At the other extreme an illustration of formalism is found in the method used for teaching a Latin author like Vergil. The Æneid, for instance, is taught without any or only slight intimation of the relation which the verses hold to the environment of the reader. This lack of interest is seen also in the obscurity of some of the leading professors, such as Masso. Masso and his laboratory at Turin are probably far better known in America than in Italy. The studies in degeneracy, which a few university professors are conducting, — Lombroso's being the most conspicuous, but not the only ones, — have received more adequate recognition beyond, than on their own side of, the Alps. The fact is the Italian people are not a people of education; they are a people of æstheticism.

Their soul has entered from the religious life into the æsthetic. What strength, therefore, they have left for education, if any, usually becomes formal. It is to be regretted that their æsthetic enthusiasm is not seen in schoolrooms or university halls. There is more appreciation of what Italy represents in art found in the schoolrooms and university halls of Cambridge, New Haven, or Cleveland, than is found in the city of Rome itself. University education throughout Italy is moribund in its formalism.

University education is also conditioned by the poverty of the people. Industrialism is somewhat lessening this poverty. The soil is in some parts worn out, in other parts fertile, producing two crops of vegetables and one of hay, each year; but the methods of agriculture are faulty. The professions and every trade are overcrowded. The people are too numerous for the forces and conditions necessary for their support. The consequent poverty affects education of all grades. The compulsory law of school attendance, although not applying beyond the age of ten, is yet ineffective. The grants made to the universities are small. The income of the twenty-one universities of Italy is less than the revenue of Columbia University in the city of New York. The amount received, of course,

changes from year to year, and it seldom exceeds two million dollars and never three million. The larger sum of two hundred thousand dollars is received by Rome and Naples. Turin, Bologna, Pisa, Palermo, and historic Padua receive each somewhat more than one hundred thousand dollars. The whole scale and standard of both receipt and expenditure are low. Great wealth alone cannot make great universities, but without wealth great progress in university life is usually impossible. The conditions do not attract ablest men to the profession of the higher teaching. The stipends of professors are small; and not a few increase them by extra-mural employments. Few professors receive less than one thousand dollars, and few also more than two thousand. But an American college professor, who has lived long in Rome, and also long in an American college city, has said that a salary of two thousand dollars in Rome goes as far as a salary of four thousand in an American college town. The stipend, however, is supplemented by a pension system. The system applies after twenty-five years of service; and the annual grant is about sixty per cent of the last year of the active professorship. The number of teachers, too, is small, too small for the progress of learning. The con-

sequent facilities offered to students are inadequate for their own training as well as for the advancement of truth.

This condition obtaining in the higher education prevents satisfactory progress in the lower. Advanced education cannot exist without elementary. The Boston Latin School nursed Harvard College. The higher education fertilizes the fields of the lower, and unless there be conditions which necessitate the existence of the lower, there is no lower education to be fertilized. The elementary education, therefore, in Italy is inadequate.

It should also be said that the work of the University of Rome, as of all the universities of southern Italy, is subjected to the evils of a bad climate. The climate invites to indolence. Italian students are not hard workers. Perhaps they could not be, if they would; for climatic conditions prevent or lessen the desire. These conditions are probably more enervating than they were two thousand years ago. A teacher in a historic American college, for years a student in Rome, tells me that his working period each day is two hours less than in New Haven. If one attempt to drive himself, he is in peril of suffering collapse. Neither students nor professors can make the academic life strenuous. Such conditions seriously interfere with

scholastic progress. Undoubtedly one cause of the progress made in American universities, as in the progress made in, and through, American life, has been the vigor-making quality of the American climate. The climate may intoxicate and so exhaust a few; but it builds up most men.

The Italian student has no need of learning lessons from his American brethren regarding short processes in educational methods. Cramming is at Rome reduced to a very simple system. Lithographed notes of lectures are offered publicly for sale. The purchase and use of the notes in preparation for examination seem to be customary and effective. The younger students at Rome, as in most universities, study no harder than they are obliged to study. The older students at Rome, like the older everywhere, are a more worthy law unto themselves.

A somewhat unique condition under which all of the twenty-one Italian universities labor, and which constantly militates against their achieving the noblest results, is the frequent change made in the ministers of public instruction. Seventeen of the universities are under control of this minister. In the last half century there have been no less than thirty different ministers. Every change in personal-

ity is also somewhat of a change in administration of each university. Under such changes it is difficult for an academic body to devote, consistently and constantly, its highest energies to its academic tasks. It must also be acknowledged that some of these ministers of the crown fail to represent a high type of educational knowledge and of administrative efficiency.

A scientific education, however, on both the liberal and the technical side of education awaits a proper development. Turin has the best engineering school and one that deserves a place with the better schools of the world. The old buildings of such universities as Rome and Naples, which have the general form and conditions of palaces, do not, however, easily lend themselves to certain modern functions of the university, especially those which relate to the practical sciences. It is so much easier to offer instruction in literature than in chemistry or physics or biology! In Italy, as in Spain, libraries are superior to laboratories, books to apparatus. Progress is making, but it will be many a year before a laboratory in the University of Rome so fittingly represents the dignity of learning, and the elevation of scholarship, as do the large spaces and well-lined walls of its library.

As I have mingled with the students at Rome and in other Italian universities, and with the students in still other countries, I am impressed with the truth that students are not a class, — they are a race. They are the same in Sweden's Upsala, and in Italy's Rome. Happy and serious, sober and frivolous, living for the day, thoughtful for the future; profligate and virtuous, prodigal and penurious, solitary and gregarious, indolent and laborious, they are, whether on the banks of the Tiber or on the banks of the Rhine, a union of contradictories. Yet in Rome, as in Bonn, they are — these noble youths — the prophets of the future; but the students of Rome and of other Italian universities seem to represent student life raised to an unusual degree of frolicsomeness. As these universities in the mediæval period stood for the so-called student universities in contrast to Paris and other northern schools, a sense of student power and of student control seems still to abide. If the students wish to shorten the academic year by a few weeks, they vote to shorten it, and then they go home. If they do not like a professor, they say so in diverse and emphatic ways, and the professor is practically obliged to resign. Student life at the Italian universities throughout the academic year re-

minds one a good deal of the frolicsomeness of the American college Sophomores in the first two weeks of their year.

The relations existing between the University of Rome and the archæological schools, and the schools for the study of history or of architecture, which the Germans, the French, the Americans, the English, and the Austrians have established, is a most cordial one. The field of exploration is immense. The questions which research creates or quickens are numerous and complex. The financial support given to any one of these schools, even to the German, is not too affluent. Each school, therefore, can worthily rejoice in the prosperity of its companions, and also the university can rejoice, and does, in the work of each of its naturalized associates. These schools, too, are becoming somewhat differentiated. The French school is more and more devoting itself to architecture, and the Austrian to history. The establishment of each new school by a foreign people, be it even ecclesiastical colleges, — and these colleges are becoming more numerous and more important, — enhances the importance of Rome as a centre of education; and thus makes more worthily impressive the significance of the great and ancient University of Rome.

IX

THE UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS

THE University of Athens: what meaning does the phrase bear to the reader? I can easily believe that to one it is simply a historic symbol. It represents that small group of philosophers, poets, and historians who in and near the age of Pericles were the teachers of the Athenian youth, and who have become, not by their conscious purpose, but by the dignity of their character and the weight of their message, the teachers of the youth of every progressive nation. To one who thus interprets the phrase it stands for Raphael's "The School of Athens." But to another the phrase may represent, not a historic symbol, but a modern force or condition. It is simply an agency which is concerned with a few general academic functions. Like the term "the University of the State of New York," which has no local habitation, which confers directly no degrees, which prepares no academic budget, and which has no faculty, yet which supervises the educational interests of the Empire State, the term "the University of

Athens" may easily be understood to refer to the headship of the whole educational system of Greece.

But the University of Athens is neither a historic symbol nor a chief administrative force. It is a university, as local and of as definite functions as Yale in New Haven or as Harvard in Cambridge. It has buildings, placed in the midst of the modern city of one hundred and fifty thousand people, more beautiful than those of any American college, with possibly two or three exceptions. It has a body of some two thousand students in its four departments of Arts and Sciences, Law, Medicine, and Theology. It enrolls a faculty of one hundred members. It has a library of two hundred and fifty thousand volumes, housed in a noble marble building which may be compared, even if its location be less impressive, with the library building at Columbia. It has also laboratories of the sciences, placed in buildings which show the advantages and disadvantages of the construction of twenty-five years ago. The University of Athens is a definite, local, modern institution of the higher learning and teaching.

Yet I hasten to say that the present University of Athens more adequately embodies the Greek life and influence of twenty-four hundred years ago than any other institution.

University of Athens.

If the influence of ancient Greece is borne into the modern world through literature, sculpture, and architecture, the *life* of ancient Greece is continued in the personality and services of the teachers of her chief university. The University of Athens, like the worthy university of every metropolis, stands for the ripest culture and the highest attainment of its best people. Its building bears the same relation to its teachers and students which the plane trees of Plato's Academy bore to his associates. Its professors are simply teachers, constituted by authority and in orderliness, as Socrates and Plato were teachers. It is, therefore, in the marble halls of the University of Athens that one feels himself quite as near to the greatest of the greatest nations of antiquity as among the broken columns of the Parthenon. Justinian closed the schools of Athens in the year 529. After an existence of nine hundred years the Academy of Plato ceased. The modern university was founded in 1837. After a lapse of thirteen centuries Plato's Academy was reopened.

The University of Athens is one of the results of the War of Liberation. If that war arose, in part at least, from a more enlightened spirit, an effect of the war was still further to liberalize and to quicken this spirit. The Greek

mind sought to give itself those advantages and opportunities which three and a half centuries of Turkish rule and misrule and a longer period of Byzantine control had denied. Its establishment sprung out of those same human and humanistic impulses which, under conditions broad and rich, or narrow and bare, have contributed to the foundation of hundreds of universities in the Old World and the New. Its foundation, too, was a part of a general movement for education. The schools of Greece which we call primary, secondary, academic, took on a more formal system. During these threescore years and ten and more the university has flourished with the flourishing of the other elements and parts of the educational system. Founded in that fourth decade of the last century which is made illustrious in the history of the higher education in the United States by the foundation of great institutions, the University of Athens soon numbered three hundred students — a number large for a kingdom small and poor. Its progress throughout the century has been steady. It has grown and strengthened with the growth and strengthening of Greece.

It is, therefore, not too much to say that the University of Athens is the most important institution of a nation

which has made richest contributions to education and to literature. Such a recognition of its place and functions is common among the Greeks. A democratic nation of a good degree of civilization is most friendly to its institutions of the higher education. The Greeks are essentially democrats. Of their university they are nobly and humbly proud. Of it, in their wide dispersion, they think as the Jews during their exiles thought of their holy city; and to it they come as students, not only from Greece, but also from the seven millions scattered in Turkey, Epirus, Thessaly, and wherever favoring or ill fortune has carried them.

The University of Athens is called a national university. The name is wisely chosen: it is national, — but it is not governmental. The German universities are national, and they are sometimes also more governmental than national. Not such is the University of Athens; it belongs to the people. The government, through the Minister of Education, performs certain formal functions, in the making of appointments, but the support is derived from the people more than from the exchequer. The buildings were built by the offerings of the nation. The buildings, too, which have association more or less intimate with the university, represent the beneficence of individuals. The library

building is the gift of the Villianos brothers; the neighboring school for girls, the Arsakion, was founded and endowed by Mr. Arsákis; the Academy of Science was built by Baron Sina of Vienna, as was the Observatory; the Polytechnic Institute represents the benevolence of a few Greeks; and the magnificent Stadium is the result of a gift of one million dollars made by a lover of Athens. The American habit of beneficence to institutions of education is also Greek.

For the higher education is peculiarly dear to the heart of the modern Greek. Regard for it is stronger and more widely spread among all classes than obtains among any other European people. Many a Greek home of small resources, and even of poverty, gladly sacrifices precious interests that a son may be educated. This son, too, coming to the university, is not unlike the American youth who earns his way through college. In most Continental universities self-support, in part or wholly, is far less usual than in American colleges. But in Greece the American custom seems to prevail. Any work which a student can do in a city like Athens is done by scores of these men. Serving as janitors, as waiters, selling newspapers, doing chores of all sorts, represent this work. The tales, too, of the self-

denial of students, practised in order to get an education, in the city of Socrates are akin to the stories which every American college president gladly and sadly hears.

It is hard to get a full college life without a dormitory. Propinquity promotes fellowship. Doing away with the halls of residence at Oxford or Yale or Princeton would be doing away with what not a few regard as the most important conditions of these ancient foundations. But Athens, in common with Continental universities, has no dormitories. Yet, despite this most serious lack, a mighty spirit of loyalty to each other and to their university prevails among the students. They have, on what they regard as most serious occasions, stood together against the government. Medical student, law student, theological student, as well as philosophical student, stand together against the philistine world. In one of the courts of the University of Athens is a simple monument to the students who lost their lives in an endeavor to oppose what they and their fellows regarded as governmental usurpation. Yet be it said that these men are usually more quiet and orderly than the "town" in most countries finds the "gown."

One of the most picturesque forms of student life is

seen in the gymnasiums. The modern gymnasium of Athens is quite as unlike the ancient as the gymnasium of an American college is unlike what the German means by a gymnasium. The modern gymnasium of Athenian students — more a private club than a university institution — is both like and unlike the American. The Athenian institution is a combination of a gymnasium building and an athletic field. It is a gymnasium out-of-doors, fitted up with all kinds of apparatus, and offering opportunities and facilities for track athletics of all sorts. Each field, also, has a building, usually small, containing bath and dressing rooms. Few things make more vivid and impressive the ancient life than seeing these young fellows, vigorous and happy, speeding away on the race-track, doing the long jump, or swinging on the bars. The fascination of the old and the new Olympic games is upon these men as it cannot be on our American college man, although the American college man bore off more prizes at a recent contest than the Greek. That magnificent modern and ancient stadium, too, is near in distance and feeling. Be it said, however, that the general physical *build* of the Greek man is not so athletic as is the constitution of the better-trained American student. The very

rigors of the American climate, which prevent our having a gymnasium without a roof and without a floor, may aid in developing a stronger set of men than the semi-tropical skies of Greece permit.

The most important of the four schools which constitute the University of Athens is the School of Law. Such an importance I like to interpret as rather a development of the Greek mind than as having special relation to politics or to governmental service as a career. For the Greek mind is preëminently interpretive, reflective, rationalizing. But it should also at once be said that service for and through the government represents an inviting opportunity for not a few men in the democracy of Greece, as in the democracy of most nations. The Greek mind, too, is giving a good account of itself in the science of medicine. Those conditions which one finds in the best medical schools of the United States and Germany one finds in the laboratories at Athens. The clinics, too, and hospital advantages are good for a city of a hundred and fifty thousand people and for a neighboring country thinly settled.

But it is only fair to say that the tendency to enter the legal or medical profession is altogether too strong. I

do not judge that Greece, any more than America, has too many first-rate doctors or lawyers; but that the number of lawyers and doctors is far in excess of the demands of the community is evident in each country. Greece needs more engineers, more intelligent farmers, more capable administrators in industry, commerce, finance. Farming in Greece is poor and small. It should be made remunerative. Railroads in Greece are few and short. Even if the country be small, a proper system should be inaugurated. The steamships which come into her ports are usually British, Austrian, Italian, or French. She should establish her own lines. The country would vastly profit by an effective system of irrigation. However capable the Greek may be, the land of Greece is yet to receive its agricultural and industrial development. For this purpose the technical development in education, in which Germany and the United States are leading, should be at once inaugurated. The beginnings already made, as intimated in the Polytechnic School situated near the university and near the National Museum, should be immediately and greatly extended. A nation can live too much in its past, even if that past contains a history which bears such names as Greek history bears, — even

if that past is associated with a geography which includes Salamis and Marathon.

A university in its service for the people of its own nation is not only to render services of that kind which the nation peculiarly needs, it is also to render a service to all men of that sort which by its history or location or constitution it is specially fitted to render. There is one form of service which the University of Athens is peculiarly fitted to give to man; it is represented in archæology. The records of the past of Greece she is the one force in all the world best situated to read and to interpret. That this duty she has not done, and is not doing, in significant ways is evident. But for not taking up this task she is not to be altogether blamed. The Greek Archæological Society is rendering the service which on many grounds belongs to the university, and in personal relations the association of this society with the university is intimate. Other nations and universities, too, have in part at least relieved Greece and her chief institution from bearing archæological burdens. Under different names and with diverse origins at least four nations are investigating Greek history. The French school, the German school, the British school, and the American school of classical studies

represent forces which have done much and are to do more to interpret the life of ancient Greece to their respective peoples and to the world. Each of these schools has a building of its own — two of them, the French and the German, being near the university; each of them is a centre and source of scholastic and archæological interest; and each of them enrolls from time to time great scholars on its teaching staff. They in a sense represent an offering of the scholastic world to Greece and to its university. Such an offering, given and accepted in graciousness, represents a high type of coöperative beneficence. For the field of research and of excavation is large, the expense is great, and the risk of securing no result is nothing less than immense. And the results, when secured, belong not to Greece alone, but to that whole world which is a debtor to Greece.

X

THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN

OFTEN, and for many years, have I asked myself the question, "Why are Germans the world's greatest scholars?" For this question, important in itself, lies behind any discussion regarding German university life or the life in any one particular university. I have never been able to find an answer at all satisfactory, and none have I now to present. Yet there are several suggestions that I would offer which may contain some help in making a proper interpretation.

The German nation is distinguished by a love of truth. It is a natural people; the forces of nature have had a large share in its making. It has been a nation a briefer time than either France or Italy or Spain. Whatever corruptions may belong to humanity have had a far shorter period for working than is found among many peoples. As a part of this love of truth, the characteristic of thoroughness in investigation is dominant. The nation is a plodding one in its search for facts. Tacitus, in "The

Germania," declares that the tribes do not submit patiently to work and to effort; but in two thousand years great changes have apparently been wrought. The people are, on the whole, phlegmatic, but they make up for their lack of agility by persistence and patience. Time does not count, so long as some progress is made toward the attainment of the ideal. I cannot but believe that the German climate has also had much to do with forming and maintaining this characteristic. The cold, damp air of northern central Europe tends toward the creation of a dull and somewhat sluggish people. A climate constantly frigid lessens vitality and a climate constantly torrid also lessens vitality. Each diminishes those forces which might be devoted to the patient pursuit of truth. But a climate temperate, cool enough to give energy and not so cool as to lessen energy, does make the best condition to insure the richest results in all kinds of doing, — intellectual, executive, manual. Such is the climate of Germany. It lacks the dryness and the intoxicating quality of the climate of central northern America. It does not create nervousness. It is a good union of coolness, of warmth, of dryness, of dampness, — good for making men think well, read well, do well.

UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

ADOLF HARNACK, Professor of Church History.

THEODOR MOMMSEN, Professor of History.

ERICH SCHMIDT, Professor of German Literature.

H. L. F. VON HELMHOLTZ, Professor of Physics.

The insignificance of the social life also tends to develop the scholastic element. The social life of Germany compared with the social life of England is a contrast. Was it not Max Müller who said that the reason English scholarship was inferior to German was the five o'clock tea? The metaphor contains a significant truth. The social life dominates England; Oxford and Cambridge are almost as truly social creations and forces as they are scholastic. Social life does not dominate Germany. The universities are scholastic; and university professors pride themselves on their scholasticism. The Puritan mother who said to her son, "If God make thee a good man and a scholar, I am content," might be found in many a Teutonic home.

The influence of the crown has, moreover, promoted scholarship. Exceptions, of course, can be found, but in general monarchs have favored scholarship in the universities. Prussia is the most important example. Frederick the Great represents the most impressive, although by no manner of means the only, ruler who has nourished the universities and been a friend of teachers and of writers. King Frederick William the Third and his great Queen Louise, through their endeavors for the founding of the University of Berlin in the midst of the Napoleonic crisis,

embody the same judgment. When one compares these monarchs, and also the present Kaiser, with the bearing of the English Georges and William the Fourth toward Oxford and Cambridge, the significance of the contrast and the consequent significance of the value of the royal favor is made great. The university in Germany has not been at all a cold, half-starved, half-clad, unloved Cinderella; it has been nourished, fed, fostered, blessed, by royal love and favor.

The dominance of the Protestant faith in the territory between the Rhine and the Baltic and the North Sea makes, furthermore, for a like conclusion. That faith, even if a faith, has given a high place to the human reason. It has taught the believer to believe, not contrary to, but in accordance with, his reason. It has emphasized the worth of the people and the importance of the study of the Bible, the value of the public exposition of its scriptures, and the right of the individual to approach directly to the person of his God. Such conditions quicken the higher learning, and create an atmosphere in which men are enabled to carry on scholastic work and to uphold scholarly ideals.

It also and above all is to be said that the freedom of

learning and the freedom of teaching represent the highest reasons of the dominance of scholarship. As the great historian and the most recent, of German university life, himself, too, a philosopher, has said:

"Freedom of teaching (Lehrfreiheit) is the pride of the German university. It is intimately connected with the intellectual freedom which constitutes such a marked feature of our national life. When other nations boasted of their power, their dominion, and their free institutions, the German people — whatever great cause it may have had for dissatisfaction in other respects — prided itself upon its intellectual freedom. When it was denied the privilege of free and vigorous action, it found compensation and consolation in independent thought. And this free thought had its seat especially in the universities. While thought and research were hampered by ecclesiastical and political restrictions or by the *vis inertiæ* of corporative organization and the pressure of narrow-minded public opinion in the universities of other countries, which boasted of their political freedom, the German university rose to be the citadel of free thought, of thought bound by no dogmas and limited by no norms beyond those established by reason itself. Hence the pride of the German

in his universities. Hence the sensitiveness on the part of wide circles to any pressure at this point. The German endures many restrictions of his personal liberty with great and, to strangers often astonishing, patience; here, however, he is, and we may say it to his credit, sensitive. The freedom of thought, research, and teaching is the jealously guarded palladium of the unwritten constitution of the German people." [1]

I will not say that these five considerations fully and clearly indicate the reason for the undoubted fact that German scholars are the greatest in the world; but I do venture to say that these considerations do shed light upon the question. Somewhat of each of these elements may be found existing in almost any nation, but the union of the five comes to its highest point of efficiency in Germany.

The University of Berlin has just celebrated the close of its first century. It is, next to Bonn, the youngest of the German universities; it has also become the greatest.

It was called into being for general, and also for specific, reasons. The general reason lay in the important fact that the throne and the people of Prussia were convinced that what Germany had lost through the devastation and

[1] "German Universities," Paulsen, page 227.

damage of Napoleon, it must regain through scholarship. It also was founded, like most German universities, for certain specific purposes. Prague was established to represent the teachings of the ancient foundations of Padua and of Bologna in Germany. Leipsic, daughter of Prague, was made a refuge for students and teachers who were not at home in the Bohemian capital. Heidelberg had for its purpose to nourish the humanistic ideals in the valley of the Rhine. Göttingen was made a university to hold up the torch of truth which had been lighted by the scholarly enthusiasts of the first decades of the eighteenth century. Berlin in turn was established to offer opportunities for scientific research and for giving scientific instruction. The value of research was emphasized. The *seminar* was introduced first in the department of philosophy, but presently spread into every faculty. Lectures too took on a more specific relation.

In the establishment of Berlin, the faculty of philosophy was remodelled. It had formerly fulfilled the purpose, served by the colleges in America, of a preparation for professional study. It now became a faculty coördinate with the faculty of law and of theology, its special purpose being, if special purpose it had, to train teachers for service

in the gymnasium. Through this method the philosophical faculty has come into a headship of all faculties. Its influence over the other faculties has promoted the enlargement of the subjects of their teaching and the enriching of their instruction. For thirty years from its foundation, the University of Berlin was in many respects leading the thought of the world. In the next period of thirty years, from 1840 to 1870, it became apparent that the strength and enthusiasm of the foundation had become somewhat spent. The number of students lessened; progress was impeded.

But in the forty years from 1870 the advancement has been great. War to the victor often means great restorations and strengthenings. From the triumphs over France Germany has gone forward unto victories more important than that symbolized in the creation at Versailles of an empire. In this general progress the universities, and especially the University of Berlin, have maintained a wise and constant leadership. Scientific researches have enlarged the boundaries of truth. The discoveries made by university professors have, in turn, formed the basis of truth for university instruction. The enlargement of the field of truth has not been limited to the dominion,

simply, of natural science, but it has gone into the field of archæology, of linguistics, of psychology, of literature, of history, of economics and political science. Nothing is foreign to the work or life of the university which can minister in highest ways to the enrichment of humanity. In this endeavor Berlin has been a leader.

The significance of the hundred years of the University of Berlin is impressively set forth by a mere list of great names of those who have been among its teachers.

For it is probable that no university ever or anywhere has, for one hundred years, had upon its faculty so many men of first-rate distinction. At the beginning the highest standard of professorial eminence and ability was set. Fichte, among the greatest of the philosophers of the absolute; Savigny, the jurist; Schleiermacher, whose name dominates still in theology; Niebuhr, the historian; Böckh, and Wolf, the classicists, were members of the first faculty. In succeeding decades the great roll includes the names of physiologists like Virchow, physicists like Helmholtz, philosophers like Hegel, historians like Ranke, Treitschke, and Mommsen, and classicists like Theodor Mommsen and Curtius. The great list continues down to our own day, including such men as Erich Schmidt,

the rector of the last year, Meyer, the economist, and Harnack, the historian and theologian. No such list of names does any century of any university in the world's history exhibit.

The life of the student in Berlin is not unlike the life of the student in many German universities, but it is conditioned by the fact of the location in a large city. The men cannot be clustered together, as at Heidelberg or Freiburg or Göttingen; yet they do have their *vereins*, many, diverse, and whose associations are close and warm. Bulletin boards in the great building are covered over with picturesque cards and announcements of these societies. It is to be said that little fighting is done in Berlin; gashed faces are not so common as at Heidelberg.

The relation of the University of Berlin to American colleges is peculiarly close. Three foreign influences have entered into the history of the higher education in America:— the first, the English, beginning with the beginnings of the people and lasting until near the outbreak of the American Revolution; the second, the French, beginning at the time of the Revolution and continuing until about the year 1810; the third, the German, beginning at the close of the first decade of the past century, and go-

ing on to the present time. The first Americans to go to Germany went to Göttingen. Later Heidelberg, Halle, Leipsic, and Berlin proved to be the most attractive points. To these various places the Americans were directed, primarily by reason of the reputation of great scholars. Americans wishing to study philosophy went to the university of Schelling and of Hegel; those wishing to study theology went to Halle to sit about the feet of Tholuck; and those wishing to study physics entered the lecture room of Helmholtz. In all these years, especially in the later decades, Berlin has been, on the whole, the most attractive centre. More recently the establishment of exchange professorships between Berlin and Harvard and Columbia has tended to promote the intimacy of the international relation.

One of the noblest results of scholastic service is to render itself superfluous. The influence of the German university over the American has been so great that the need of the American student going to Berlin or to Leipsic has become less urgent. No American university ranks with Leipsic or with Munich or with Berlin as a scholastic centre; but it is certainly no longer necessary for the American student, in order to secure high scholastic instruction,

or to avail himself of large opportunities for research, to leave the banks of the Charles or of the Wisconsin lakes. Thirty years ago the American did not hesitate an instant, if the chance was open to him of matriculating at a German university. To-day he does properly hesitate; at least he is inclined to think that a year spent in America in great work, or possibly two years, and one year or two in Germany, may be made more profitable to him than the spending of his entire graduate period in either Göttingen or Bonn or Berlin.

University of Vienna.

XI

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIENNA

THE University of Vienna is happy in its location and environment. Only one place in the world is more imposing to the eye and the heart of the landscape and building architect than the Ringstrasse. That place is the Champs-Élysées; from the Arc de Triomphe that great avenue sweeps down towards the Place de la Concorde and forms the most imposing of all scenes. But if one omit Paris, the Ringstrasse is unique. On one side of the university rise the delicate open towers of the Votive Church, a piece of noble architecture proving that men still can build the Gothic in the middle of the nineteenth century. On the other side is the Rathaus, also a noble piece of Gothic. Opposite the Rathaus stands the Hofburg theatre; and near by, and opposite, lies the lengthy, impressive Greek building of the Reichsrat. Farther along the great boulevard are the two imperial museums, twin buildings, dedicated the one to Natural History and the other to Art. Between these several buildings are wooded parks and

squares, in which statues of the worthiest men which humanity or Austria has given to itself stand in impressive individuality and relationship.

It is this largeness of situation which helps to make the building of the University of Vienna superior to the new Sorbonne, the chief building of the University of Paris. The corner-stone of the Sorbonne was laid as the cope-stone of the Vienna building was being put in its place. The Vienna building offers nothing to compare with the noble paintings laid upon the walls of the Sorbonne; but the whole impression made by the older structure represents a far finer appeal both to the scholastic sense and the æsthetic imagination.

The building itself, furthermore, is worthy of such an environment. It is in the form of a square, each side occupying about five hundred feet. Within, also, it is built about a large court, a customary European method which has seldom been adopted in the United States. Its height is in different parts either three or four stories. The central court is flanked by wide and noble corridors, in the walls of which are set statues and busts of the worthiest professors of the university. Staircases of white marble, built with a nobility which reminds one of the

staircase of Michael Angelo on the Capitol Hill at Rome, open to the great halls, which in turn open into large lecture rooms. Fifty such rooms, seating from two hundred to three hundred students each, occupy the greater part of the building. To the library, however, with its seven hundred thousand volumes, and a good, though not large, reading room, is given the central floor of the western side, — a room built after the type of the library of St. Genevieve, which is also near the Sorbonne. The scientific collections and laboratories are found in other neighboring buildings.

A great piece of academic architecture is this building, one on which the state spent seven millions of dollars; and one to which the architect Ferstel, who also built the Votive Church, gave of his great power. But the architecture, be it said, like all examples of the Italian Renaissance, is too florid and broken for academic structures. It would be well for academic architects to be satisfied with simple lines, such as are seen in the Pitti Palace in Florence. But of its type, the building of the University of Vienna is indeed fine and unique.

But perhaps I may be allowed to say, I have found myself rather admiring the architecture of the building,

and moved by the generosity of the expenditure made for academic purposes, than inspired and quickened by the great origins and the human movements which have here come into being. The entire condition fails to awaken those emotions which one feels as he stands in the little cedar-ceiled room of the old building of the University of Bologna, where, in the thirteenth century, a hundred years before the University of Vienna was founded, dissections of the human body were made, and where Galvani lectured. The human is everywhere and ever more than marble, be the marble never so splendid and never so richly wrought. The lesson of Bologna is most cheering to the small American college, which in honesty, earnestness, and quietness is seeking to widen the horizon of men's knowledge and thinking, and to train men into great living.

But a university is not a building. A university is not even a collection of books, as Carlyle said it was. A university is rather a man, a man teaching and a student studying, as Moslem practice embodies it. In this fundamental association the University of Vienna stands as one of the world's universities.

One of the principal contributions made by the University

of Vienna to the cause of liberal learning lies in the field of Romance language and literature. In certain practical respects, Paris is the finest place in the world for studying the Romance languages in their general relations; but in other respects, as the historical, Vienna is the worthiest condition for forming an orderly acquaintance with the great facts and theories of Romance languages and literatures. Yet a more significant achievement of the philosophical faculty lies in the field of political economy. In this domain the most conspicuous contribution is known as the Theory of Value. This theory interprets value in terms of "marginal utility." "Marginal utility" is the subjective element or function of value. The theory has been developed in the last thirty years by Karl Menger and by his pupils, some of whom have, in late years, become his colleagues. The most distinguished of the younger men is Böhm-Bawerk. Böhm-Bawerk has, by his criticisms and researches and by his theory of interest upon capital, become one of the greatest of economists. But other pupils, such as Gross, Mataja, Schüller, Meyer, and Philippovich, have presented great works upon the theories of profit, of rent, and of distribution of the burdens of taxation. The University of

Vienna has thus made to the world a most worthy contribution in a fundamental theme of political economy.

In popular esteem, however, the medical department of the university is held in higher regard than the philosophical. For the last three quarters of a century the medical department of the University of Vienna, together with the same department in the University of Paris, has been esteemed as the best in the world. The medical eminence of Vienna has arisen from several causes. The large number of courses of instruction offered, allowing and requiring much minuteness of teaching and of study; the eminent ability of the professors themselves; the centralization of the hospital service open to students; and, be it also said, the opportunities offered to students through autopsies, — represent the principal causes and elements of the commanding condition of the university. The general opinion held for generations regarding the worth of the medical instruction of Vienna is well expressed by the late Dr. Henry Ingersoll Bowditch of Boston, who, writing in the year 1859, said: "I have grown *a foot taller*. I have learned much, not, perhaps, in particular facts as in more enlightened general views of some points about which I knew little or nothing before.

It has brought me in contact with *men*, and I have measured myself by them, and it does one good so to do. I have golden memories of noble minds and kind hearts where only before I had merely scientific abstract notions of certain medical writers, so that I shall never regret my visit to this place."[1] I suppose, however, it must be said that relatively Vienna as a medical centre has declined in the last years. Absolutely its worth has probably not essentially depreciated; but Berlin and several small German universities, like Freiburg, have advanced. Vienna, however, is still great, very great, in its department of physical diagnosis and pathology.

Some universities are embodied characteristics of a single people. Some are municipal, giving themselves to the city of their location, and receiving from their city special advantages. Italian universities in the fifteenth century were both municipal and national. The University of Vienna is more municipal than most universities situated in great cities. It is usually difficult for universities situated in great cities adequately to impress and to influence the life of the people. The still small voice of truth is hushed in the noise and tumult of traffic.

[1] "Life and Correspondence of Henry Ingersoll Bowditch," Vol. I, pages 316, 317.

But the University of Vienna is the University of Vienna. Of it the people seem more proud than are most urban populations of great schools of learning. Undoubtedly the central location of the building and the impressiveness of the building itself contribute towards this result. The higher life of Vienna as manifest in the Academy of Science, a Viennese French academy, is controlled by the university. But though Vienna is thus strikingly municipal, it has also impressed me as being a little less national than are some universities. Primarily and essentially German in organization, in method and in content of instruction, it yet has a certain French element. The French condition is more atmospheric than a direct, positive force; but nevertheless, it exists in the university as it does exist in the capital city.

In Austria, the University of Vienna stands essentially alone. All the other six universities — Gratz, Innsbruck, Cracow, Lemberg, Prague, and Czernowitz — have students and income hardly more than equal to the students and the revenue of Vienna. The simple fact is that university education is not a primary interest of the Austrian nation as it is of the German. The educational renaissance has not yet dawned in southeastern Europe.

But, despite this condition, the University of Vienna is still a commanding force of the entire world. Its annual income is about seven hundred thousand dollars, although only one-half of the grant made to Berlin or to Paris. This revenue is less, too, than that of several American universities. But in respect to students, its six thousand are larger than are found in any American institution with the single exception of Columbia, and are equal to the number enrolled in Leipsic, Naples, or its own companion University of Budapest. Medical students represent less than one quarter of the whole number, being exceeded by philosophical students and much exceeded by the students of law. No less than three thousand students of law are here studying to become practitioners in Austria and Hungary, a number much larger than the business of those countries demands. But the law in Austria and Hungary, as well as in countries as diverse as the United States and Greece, proves to be an excellent professional school for other callings than the law.

But the university consists of students as well as of teachers and courses of instruction. Student life in Vienna has larger variety than is found in many institutions. Outdoor sports abound. Literary clubs have a large

place and exert much influence. They are, in fact, a sort of informal students' seminary. Political clubs, too, prevail. In them, at times, enthusiasms are great and excitement runs high. The debates and arguments of the neighboring Parliament House easily overflow into the university courts and halls. These clubs are not unlike the political organizations found in most American colleges in the campaign of a presidental election.

Yet in Vienna, as in many European universities, especially Oxford and Cambridge, one is reminded of certain great contrasts existing between them and the American college. The education given in the universities of Europe is usually offered to those students who come with gold in their purse. It is an education designed for the wealthier class, or at least for those who are well-to-do. To this judgment, the four Scottish universities and perhaps a few others should be always excepted. The student who is "working his way" would seldom feel at home. The atmosphere, social and other, which he constantly breathes would not infrequently prove to be suffocating. It is extremely important for all the elements of national life and of personal character in the United States and eventually in the entire world, that the

American college should firmly maintain the democratic principle as few European universities do maintain it. As said President Eliot, in an address given at the Harvard Commencement of 1906, "It [Harvard] is a thoroughly democratic social institution on a great scale." Such is not the University of Vienna.

Above most great universities of the world, Vienna does not attract foreign students. It belongs to southeastern Europe; and southeastern Europe seems remote to England and to America. The University of Vienna is an Austrian institution. But besides its remoteness, Vienna is an expensive place of residence. Students everywhere are, as a class, poor in purse, or at least not rich. The purchasing price of the Austrian florin (forty cents) is hardly greater than the purchasing power of the German mark (twenty-five cents). The standard coin helps, in every nation, to constitute values. The current krone, of one-half the value of the florin, has not yet supplanted it. The students of Vienna, too, I think, live a bit better than the students in Berlin or Leipsic. The coffee and rolls are actually better; but the difference is not so great as the difference between the value of the mark and of the florin. Remoteness and expensiveness, therefore, tend

to keep the Austrian university Austrian. Of its more than six thousand students and "hearers" Russia and the United States are, of all foreign countries, the best represented, the former sending almost two hundred, and the latter somewhat over a hundred, students. The larger share of the foreigners are still enrolled in the department of medicine. It may be added that the expensiveness of living touches the professor as deeply as the student. Few of the teachers are able to support themselves from the income of their chairs.

American colleges in certain respects, some great and some slight, have much to learn from Vienna and other European universities, and they, be it said, may possibly learn somewhat from American colleges. In one point which is apparently slight, but really significant, the European schools are an example to the American: to wit, in the length of the academic day. In the American college, seldom is a lecture given before eight o'clock of a morning; and also equally seldom does a lecture end later than five of the afternoon. In the universities of Germany and Austria, the academic day is far longer. I have attended Harnack's lectures in Berlin, at seven o'clock of the morning, and in the University of Vienna

I found one lecture set at quarter past six, and several at seven o'clock. Neither does the day close till eight of the evening. Such a length of the academic time is important, for it really is an extension of the whole system of studies. The German university student cannot teach the American the virtue of hard work, but the German professor can teach his American colleague somewhat in regard to offering his students wider opportunities through a lengthening of the academic day.

But on the other hand, there is one element of academic construction in which the American college may be teacher to the University of Vienna, and in fact to most of the universities of Europe. The scientific laboratories of the United States are, on the whole, far more adequate than the laboratories of European universities. The new chemical laboratory of the University of Berlin, for instance, was, of all possible defects, built without proper means of ventilation, and the yet newer chemical laboratory at Göttingen was built without proper facilities of drainage. As the teaching of the applied sciences in the American schools is in Europe regarded as of peculiar scholastic excellence, so the laboratories in which the sciences are housed possess similar superiority.

XII

THE UNIVERSITY OF BUDAPEST

THE name of "Budapest" bears one back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when three universities were founded in Hungary, in the midst of semibarbarism and of civil and foreign warfares. In these and the following centuries, in the risings and fallings of political dynasties, in the progress and regress of large human movements, the universities flourished, declined, died, and were revived. But out of this remote period of materialistic conditions and conflict of crude forces has come forth what is now known to the world as the University of Budapest.

In its remoteness of space as in its remoteness in time, Budapest is somewhat unique among the world universities. But to such uniqueness other causes also contribute. The racial and linguistic conditions are quite as mighty as the geographical and temporal. For the Hungarian people embody Slavic traditions, unlike those of the wide-spreading, conquering Aryan. The language,

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coming no one knows whence, is not one of the world languages, in which scholars write books for scholars to read. Latin is still, though in a lessening degree, the language of scholarship; and the Hungarian researcher may use it. But the German he cannot use without prejudice: for is not German the speech of his conqueror, with whom he holds — to some extent — an unwilling political alliance? Hungarian scholars lament that they are foreigners to a large part of that world whose commendation is most worth winning. The topographical reason, moreover, in constituting this noble uniqueness may have some value, though not so great as that belonging to the racial, linguistic, or geographical condition. For no capital has a situation more lordly. To the historic dignity of the Thames at London, and to the wide breadth of the swift-flowing Neva at St. Petersburg, is to be added the impressiveness of hill and tower of Edinburgh. The Parliament House at Budapest is not in its exterior unworthy of comparison with the Parliament House on the Thames embankment, though its interior decoration is Oriental and Byzantine; and the king's palace on the heights of Buda may be compared with the winter residence of the Czar. Budapest and its university

stand alone and magnificent on the eastern frontier. Proud without vanity, self-contained without arrogance, are they both, capital and university, willing to be alone, and without serious consciousness of loneliness, in south-eastern Europe.

The domain of Francis Joseph is not so well provided with universities as is the Empire of William II.; and Hungary is the least well provided of any part. Though the Hungarians number about twenty millions, almost one-half of the whole Austrian Empire, yet their universities are only two, and of these two, Budapest is chiefly significant. Budapest illustrates the advantage and the disadvantage of having one principal institution of the higher learning serve a great people. Although Hungary is poor, and universities are costly; although ninety per cent of the Hungarians are farmers, and farmers do not constitute a clientele for a university; and although the educational traditions and development of modern times have passed into and through the Aryan nations, and Hungary is not one of the historic branches of this historic family: yet the University of Budapest enrolls more students than any university in America except one, being exceeded only by Columbia, and by Paris, Berlin, and Naples. It has

a conscious strength, too, which even mere numbers do not usually create. It also has a teaching and investigating staff composed of scholars, virile, energetic, laborious, achieving. Its library, on which each year is spent about $20,000, one-half of which is used for buying books, its laboratories, its collections, represent the better scholastic resources and opportunities of the great world universities. Yet be it said that some seven thousand students, about one-third of whom are Jews, with fifteen hundred enrolled in the other of the two universities, are a most unworthy representation of the interest taken in the higher education by twenty millions of people. If one reckon the whole number of students as ten thousand, the proportion becomes only one student to twenty thousand inhabitants. The proportion is the more significant when it is remembered that outside of twenty millions who are largely Magyars, are two million Germans, two million Croatians, two million Slovaks, three million Roumanians, and one million Servo-Croatians and Ruthenes. To receive instruction from the University, these less numerous peoples must know the Magyar language, which is the official language of the state, the schools, and the courts.

The relatively small number of university students in Hungary becomes still more impressive when one learns that in the last score of years the proportion in Austria has been fifty-six students to one hundred thousand population, in Italy fifty-one, in France forty-three, in Belgium eighty-two, in Holland forty-five, in Switzerland fifty-six, in Denmark forty-seven, in Sweden fifty-seven. In the United States the proportion is much higher and has been increasing in recent years. In the year 1872 there were five hundred and seventy-three undergraduates, — collegiate and technical, — to a million of the population. Ten years after the number had increased to seven hundred and thirty-one; and fifteen years after, in 1897, the proportion had become eleven hundred and ninety-three to the million, and in the last decade the proportion has still further increased. In these twenty-five years, the number of students, both undergraduate and professional, in proportion to the population of the United States, has more than doubled.

The organization of the university is German. Besides the four faculties, theology, medicine, law, and philosophy, it also has in association with itself several institutions through which instruction is given in physics, chemistry,

and other sciences. In theology the ordinary tradition is followed closely. Dogmatics, ecclesiastical history, practical theology, Hebrew, and Greek illustrate the chief parts of the curriculum.

The medical teaching at Budapest includes the equipment of collections and of hospitals and of clinics which the best universities set forth. Some of the collections, especially those in comparative anatomy, are particularly complete. The clinical instruction is ample, and the material for it rich. The uniting of hospital and clinic with the medical department is especially close, — an advantage which many students in American medical schools know is of priceless worth.

The law school includes not only the more directly legal studies, but also many courses which are offered through the departments of government and of political science in the American college. The philosophical faculty of this university of southeastern Europe and of Slavic traditions illustrates the great historic divisions and scholastic tendencies. The presentation of the various divisions of the field of truth is everywhere substantially the same. Here are offered the regular courses in classical philology, in mathematics, in philosophy, in

mediæval and modern history. But courses are also presented which have national or local relationships. The Hungarian language and literature, Slavic philology, Roumanian language and literature, Croatian philology, Hungarian history, the history of Hungarian literature, Turingian language and literature, are topics which are significant. The teachings offered in Hungarian language and literature are especially numerous.

The presence of a worthy university helps to make a metropolis an intellectual capital of the world. The university aids in thus constituting Budapest. But in addition Budapest has many literary and scholastic institutions, such as the Royal Academy of Science, and the noble National Museum, of which the building contains collections of pictures, including many examples of the old masters, of coins and much ethnographical illustrative material, a free public library, the scientific bureaus of the government, such as meteorological and statistical, and several associations for archæological, anthropological, and historical investigation.

The remoteness of Budapest from the great world capitals, as well as the vitality of these diverse races themselves, has promoted the establishment and development

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SOR THANHOFFER, Professor of
y and Dean of the Medical School.

ESSOR RECREY, Professor of
Surgery.

PROFESSOR BARSONY, Professor of
Gynecology.

PROFESSOR FODOR, Professor of
Hygiene.

of these associations and movements concerning the most important human relationships. This remoteness, too, may in certain ways have helped, though in other ways hindering, the formation of what is everywhere called society, — which in Budapest is a part of the society of London, of Paris, and of Berlin. It represents the appreciations, the relationships, and the sympathies of the world.

In respect to the source of its revenue, the university provides largely its own support. It draws relatively a small sum from the public chest. In general, universities having a close affiliation with the commonwealth receive a smaller part of their revenue from the fees of students than those which are ecclesiastical or personal foundations. In some state universities of America, nine-tenths of the income consists of grants made by the legislature. In some colleges having no direct association with the commonwealth the fees of students represent from one-third to one-half of the entire revenue. The grants made to the universities of Germany from the public chest are the comprehensive source of their support.

At Budapest, the sum of about $400,000 is spent each year, of which more than one-third is derived from

the fees of students. The proportion paid by students is larger than obtains in most universities supported by the state, and is about equivalent to that which is found in many colleges and universities controlled by churches. In Budapest, as in most universities, the stipend of teachers, although small, represents, as it ought, the larger part of the annual budget. The individual salary seldom exceeds $2500. The pension system, however, enters into the university as a means of relief. This system takes effect after a briefer period of service than is usual. When a professor has served ten years, he is able to receive about one-third of his annual salary as a retiring allowance. After thirty years of service, he is able to retire upon a grant equal to his salary.

The students in the Royal University of Hungary are among the hardest workers of all Continental students. In their laboriousness they remind one of the less wealthy students of St. Andrews and of Edinburgh; for, like their nation, they are poor in purse. Ten dollars a month for living expenses is not unusual, and the fee for instruction is about twenty-five dollars a year. But such poverty saves students from some intemperances to which students in Continental universities are tempted. The universities

of Holland probably represent both the best living and the cheapest cost, but Budapest would represent both cheap living and small expense. Frequently two or three students occupy one room. The whole condition suggests the men of Aberdeen, who come down from their highland home, bringing their bag of oatmeal. The climate invites to endurance and to hard work. The climate also invites to athletic sports, in which students are beginning to find their fun and recreation.

Women do not come in appreciable numbers, — though theirs is the right to come. Those who do come belong, as in Russia, to the lower or middle classes. Women of the higher classes are educated in schools which are not of the university order of instruction. Those who do enter largely come for the sake of fitting themselves to become teachers.

The conservative tendency of even an energetic university is represented in the fact that the great polytechnical school of Budapest, having two thousand students, is independent of the university. Engineering in its various branches has not come to be regarded as a profession coordinate with medicine, theology, or law. This fact is the more noteworthy, for the technical education given

in Hungary is specially excellent on its theoretical side, though lacking on its practical. The tendency to develop technical education is strong in Budapest as it is in every part of the world. The new building into which the polytechnical school has recently moved deserves to be compared with the great structure which the University of Pennsylvania uses for its engineering school. This tendency is indeed, in one sense, too strong, for the industrial life of Hungary has not so far developed as to allow employment to be given to all engineers whom its great school graduates. Hungarian engineers are therefore found in all countries in larger numbers than belong to any population of a similar size.

For the sake of technical education, and for the sake of the university, it would be well in Budapest, as also in most universities, for the university to incorporate the technical school as one of its professional schools. The university usually needs a certain directness, force, efficiency, which is supposed to characterize the instruction given in engineering schools; and the engineering school needs the largeness of vision and the sense of relationship which the instruction and the life of the university represent. But the usual method in Europe represents the separation

of the university from the polytechnic and technical schools. The fear is widespread and strong that the cause of applied science would suffer if its teaching were committed to the philosophical faculty. This fear is also felt in America, where both the independent school of applied science and the school of applied science as a part of the university flourish.

In Budapest, as in every worthy university, the teaching staff is of chief significance. In his personal relation the Budapest professor is a combination of the typical Italian and German professor. Like the Italian, he is somewhat one side of the great Northern scholastic tradition, and also, like the Italian, he is the embodiment of graciousness; but he is also possessed of the sense of vigor and of progressiveness of the German. In him, however, there seems to be more of the strength of the Northern scholastic movement than of the leisurely culture and the cultivated leisure of historic Italy. If he have the national loyalty of the Italian, as he has, and possibly in a yet higher degree, he also has the breadth of training of the German professor.

In his relation to the people, too, in the expression of his opinion regarding political subjects, the Budapest

professor is accorded a degree of liberty such as is enjoyed in Berlin and Rome. Greater liberty in the expression of opinions regarding political subjects is allowed the teacher in the university than is permitted to the Budapest editor. Freedom of the press is still unrecognized. Imprisonment of editors occurs, but the university teacher goes on in the enjoyment of his academic freedom. A closer watch is kept by civil and political authorities upon the sanctums of editors than upon the lecture rooms of the university teachers. This simple fact has mighty political significance. For Hungary has, as a state, hard problems set for itself.

The continuance of the Union, and if continued, under what terms, forms the central question. About this question, the Party of 1848 standing for independence, the Constitutional Party standing for dualism, and the People's Party representing Ultramontanism are struggling. Each party contains many men of intelligence, of courage, of high spirit. In the settling of this problem and other great questions of the near future, the professors of the university themselves, and the men whom they are training, are to bear a most important share.

XIII

THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. PETERSBURG

AFTER a great war, a great educational revival! The University of Berlin was the child of Prussia humiliated by Napoleon, determined to become his conqueror. The great Civil War in the United States was followed by a mighty quickening of the higher education. The Crimean War laid low the Asiatic idols of Nicholas I., struck off the administrative fetters with which the Emperor had bound schools and universities, and breathed a noble spirit of educational reform into the Russian nation. From the crowning of Nicholas I. in 1825 down to the outbreak of the Crimean War the Asiatic type of civilization had been developed. Upon no form of the national life did the policy of repression fall with more crushing weight than upon the educational. Every form of education, and especially the higher, was oppressed, limited by law, and made the object of general ridicule and public contempt. Colonels and counts became professors of literature in the universities, and policemen lecturers on phi-

losophy. Worthiness in a teacher was no longer made a condition for becoming a teacher. Men entered the university, not to become scholars, but government servants. Places on faculties, as places in the army, were bought and sold; bribery became an organized system. The directions given regarding the conditions to be observed in the conveying of instruction were absurdly definite, and the provision made respecting the subjects to be taught was at once sad and ridiculous. In the year 1852 the study of Greek was abolished in the universities on the ground of being dangerous to the state. The number of students in each university was by law limited to three hundred.

From such a nadir of educational degradation the revelations of the Crimean War rudely and thoroughly awakened Russia. All Asiatic dreams had vanished. The Turks had *not* been driven from Europe; Jerusalem had *not* become a new Russian capital; the city of Constantine had *not* become the city of Nicholas; a new Panslavic empire had *not* been proclaimed.

When a nation has fallen into the condition in which Prussia lay in 1806 and Russia in 1856, the wise know that the chief, if not the only, method of recovery lies in educa-

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Physical Institute.
Preparation Room of Institute.

tion. Recovery is not secured by spasms of reforms. Recovery is the result of causes which change fundamental conditions and work modifications of character. The successor of Nicholas, Alexander II., returned, therefore, to the policy of Peter the Great and of Alexander I. — the policy of education. Commissions on education were appointed; new university statutes were adopted; the universities were made independent in the management of their internal affairs; matters of instruction and administration were committed to those fit to consider such matters; revenues were increased; teaching staffs were enlarged; requirements for admission to the universities as well as the requirements for graduation were stiffened; the value of the new scientific studies was enhanced, and additional emphasis was laid on the general worth of the ancient classics.

The vast reënforcement given to higher education in all Russia by that great leader and great man, Alexander II., in the very first and all the years of his reign still remains. Many decades of imperial indifference will be required for the wiping out of the results of the reformation which he instituted, or for the repression of the forces of culture and scholarly fellowship which he created and

enlarged. No one of the five universities of the empire, or of the three universities of the provinces, holds these results more securely than the University of St. Petersburg.

The progress of the last half-century of the University of St. Petersburg and its present condition of power are fittingly suggested by its material environment. It looks out on the finest river which any university of the world commands. The Neva flows swiftly and strongly by between widely separated banks. These banks are themselves great houses and palaces. The river is spanned by the Dworzowy bridge. At the farther end rises the ecclesiastical golden spire of the Admiralty Building. Near by the Winter Palace shows forth its splendors and the Hermitage offers its priceless treasures of Greek and mediæval art. The Bourse, Greek in type, of many columns, stands close by, individual and calm, as are all Russian fiscal policies. Churches of golden dome or mosaic rise numberless and impressive. Such is the environment under which the professors of the University of St. Petersburg lecture and their students listen or study.

The chief building of the university is by far the largest university structure known to me. It lengthens itself

out to about one thousand feet. This length is divided into a dozen parts by simple architectural lines. The width is about fifty feet, and the height three stories. The roof is so broken that all feeling of sameness is avoided. What may be called the front is occupied by rooms used for lecture, library, or administrative purposes. The rear of the first story is used as an arcade, open on the side, but covered, and the rear of the second story is also used as an arcade, covered and enclosed, from which doors open to the many lecture rooms. These arcades have none of the architectural beauty of the cloisters of Magdalen of Oxford, but their length renders them impressive.

To the impressiveness of the great hall two or three elements are to be added. Among them is the library. The library as a collection of books lacks, of course, the completeness of the Bodleian, but next to the great Oxford collection it is among the most complete of university libraries. As I wandered from room to room and examined shelf after shelf I found material which represents research and the conditions for research in certain departments as full as I have found at any college. French, German, English, as well as Russian, periodical collections are here assembled. Here also I saw not a few

of the sacred books of China, awakening a feeling of curious reverence as one thinks of the possible relation of Russia and of China in the near or remote future. A card catalogue of both subjects and authors is used. As is usual in most European and some American universities, the library is designed rather for the teachers than for the students. I may add in passing that the great manuscript of Tischendorf (Codex Sinaiticus, the oldest Greek manuscript of the Bible) is treasured in the neighboring imperial library.

The library and the laboratory are sometimes supposed to be rivals. History and literature are too often joined together in a seeming antagonism to physics, chemistry, and biology. No such condition is apparent in St. Petersburg, as it is, for instance, at Oxford. Some of the greatest of Russian scholars are found in the field of chemistry. One of the best of physical laboratories in all Europe is that of the great Russian university. The building itself is a noble piece of architecture, both within and without. Its cost was a half-million rubles, or one-fourth million of dollars. It is equipped with all that the heart or mind of a professor of physics in an American college holds dear: rooms for the private work and research of teachers;

opportunities and means of experimentation; public rooms for the students for pursuing their own studies; all the conveniences of water and gas and electricity, of dark rooms and lanterns, of sliding and swinging blackboards, and of telephones are in evidence.

To one other somewhat uncommon element of the University of St. Petersburg I must refer. In most universities of the Continent no means are provided for physical exercise and development. Tennis is usually the most popular sport, but to get courts sufficient for four thousand or even a thousand students is somewhat difficult! In a few cases the men row, as at Upsala, or sail, as at Helsingfors. In most places the students "walk and walk and walk." Basket-ball and football are played a little. In St. Petersburg, however, I did see the signs of a gymnasium. These signs are found in the midst of the long corridors, where students most do congregate. They consist of a short and low pair of parallel bars, the standards for a horizontal bar but without the bar itself, and two short ropes fixed to the ceiling!

The university which is thus so nobly placed and housed — save its gymnasium — is not allowed to forget its imperial character. Founded in 1819 by the Czar, the only

and political never. The rebellions of the universities of Russia go beyond the academic walls to the state. The late Sultan of Turkey suffered from a similar condition obtaining at Scutari. He began and half finished one of the great medical buildings of the whole world. It was situated near the British cemetery. It was pointed out to Abdul-Hamid II. that in case of disturbances among the students they could easily betake themselves to British soil and be free from his commands; whereupon all work on these great and noble structures ceased. But in Russia the government is inclined, on the whole, to deal lightly with such tempests, except as they may come to wreak serious damage. Yet the government does keep a constant eye and not remote hand on the student body. It knows what the men are saying. It is asserted, perhaps with good reason, that it has spies among the students. Arrests are sure to follow any political disturbance, and further penalties may and frequently do eventuate.

The Russian student is not so hard a worker as is his American brother. His appetites seem stronger. Drawn largely from the middle classes, the men do not give so favorable an impression to the eye as do the better men of the better American colleges. Scattered in their res-

idence through the apartment houses of the great cities, they take on the environment of their residence as well as the academic atmosphere. But both in Russia and in America college men train each other. As in every country, the students combine into small settlements. These unions are usually made on the basis of the province from which the men come. Men who have their homes in the same part of the great country or who have been fitted in the same schools naturally unite. Under this form are constituted the land groups, or zemlyachestva, which have in the past proved to be seats of Nihilistic or similar disturbances.

The professor of a Russian university is a gentleman of power and cultivation. His career is one to which the worthiest citizen may well look forward. Although the highest classes prefer the military service, yet to all except the nobles service in a university is most inviting. Under the general control of the Minister of Public Instruction, each university is for its more immediate government independent. Each professor, too, in his department usually finds himself his own master. In only one respect does the professorial career seem unworthy. The salary is even more inadequate than obtains in most American institu-

tions. The salary of the full professor is 3000 rubles, or about $1500, and of an assistant professor only 2000 rubles.

In the immediate and remote future Russia has tremendous problems to solve. The most comprehensive of the problems relates to the conversion of a people or peoples of diverse origins and varying conditions, scattered over an immense territory, some civilized and more half civilized, into a united and homogeneous nation. In the solution of these problems education is to be a chief and permanent force; and though few in relation to the vast population, the men and women who are trained in the University of St. Petersburg and its companion schools are offering to the great movement cool heads, good hearts, and clean hands.

XIV

THE UNIVERSITY OF BUCHAREST

THAT great humanist, Professor Henry Sidgwick, somewhere remarks that England has certainly reached her zenith.[1] The only question, Professor Sidgwick says, concerns her future; and concerning her future the question is whether the decline shall be gradual or by a series of leaps. That remark, written twenty-five years ago, whether true or false of England, cannot be applied to certain branches of the English race. Neither can it or should it be applied to any part of the great Slavic race. The Slavic race is far from reaching its zenith, if its zenith be at all comparable to the heights reached by other parts of humanity. That race has not come: it is becoming. One does not forget Napoleon's prophecy of a hundred years ago.

The universities of Russia and in particular the universities of the smaller states, of Servia, Bulgaria, and of

[1] Henry Sidgwick: "A Memoir," p. 399.

Roumania, illustrate the intimation that the higher education of these countries, as well possibly as the countries themselves, belongs to the future. Now be it said at once that Roumania is not Slavonic in respect to race or language. It belongs on the whole to the stock of Western, not of Eastern, Europe. But be it added that the influences to which it is largely subjected, its environment, its geography, — physical, political, social, — are Slavonic. In these three countries having a population of ten millions, in the three capitals of Belgrade, Sophia, and Bucharest, having a population of half a million, are three universities, which are in no respect achievements, which are only prophecies, but which one prefers to call even hopes rather than prophecies. The most important of them, as are the city and nation of which it is a part, is the University of Bucharest, the University of Roumania.

The University of Bucharest has no greater beauty of environment than belongs to most Continental universities. This beauty, most know, is no beauty at all. Bucharest lacks the picturesqueness of Upsala and the noble impressiveness of the university temple at Vienna. The city of Bucharest is planted down upon a plain as flat as a Roumanian cornfield; and the university is built upon

University of Bucharest.

Natural History Museum.

a part of the urban flatness. The building is no more commanding than is the simple palace in which live the King, Carl I., and Queen Elizabeth, best known as Carmen Sylva. Opposite the building is a small park of typical design and planting, in which are set statues of the Roumanian scholars, as George Lazar, who died in 1823, and Ivan Heliade Radulescu, who died in 1872. Within, the building is divided up into halls, laboratories, lecture rooms, and a museum; but also within is found the small hall of the Roumanian House of Parliament. The university building therefore represents a greater intimacy between the government and the higher education than usually obtains. It is sometimes said that it is easier for a state university in America to get appropriations from the legislature if the university is located at the capital. Legislators are thus more strongly impressed with the worth of the university. The state university of Ohio or of Wisconsin, for instance, enjoys advantages not enjoyed by the state university of Michigan or of Illinois. But the University of Bucharest is especially endowed: its home is in the Parliament House, or, the Parliament House has its home in the University building.

The University of Bucharest labors under at least four

special limitations. It is the university of a small people. I might also add, despite what I have said regarding the future of the Slavic races, that it is the university of a decadent people. The population of Roumania is about six millions. Though the people themselves would of course deny the epithet decadent, there is evidence that the adjective is deserved. The nation, above most nations, is the slave of pleasure. Its people are poor; and if individuals or certain classes are at times rich, they are beset by the temptation to improvidence. A sudden accession of wealth sends the fortunate, or unfortunate, man to Paris, whence he comes forth poor, and certainly no wiser. The Bulgarians are the strongest of the Balkan nations. The Roumanians have spent themselves too freely. In coming into the heritages of European civilization they have not adopted its virtues while retaining the vices of uncivilization.

A second disadvantage, akin to the first, under which the University of Bucharest labors is that, of the six millions of population of Roumania, five millions are peasants. European peasants are on the whole, in respect to large character, quite unlike American farmers. They are not the stuff whence is drawn fine academic material. The

Roumanian peasantry represent benumbing poverty (three acres to a family), narrowness of intellectual and social outlook, and a constant lack of personal ambition.

A further disadvantage lies in the fact that the first Roumanian families send their sons abroad for education. France is the strongest and most popular magnet. The Roumanians are not loyal to their own, either in language or education. The University of Bucharest, therefore, lacks those social elements and those student affiliations which are found to be so strong, for instance, at Leiden and the other universities of a small, but most loyal people, like the Hollanders.

A fourth limitation is found in the fact of the influence of the Greek Catholic Church. Opinions may differ respecting the influence of the Roman Catholic Church on education. Some would say that this influence has been preservative of the materials of scholarships, constructive in the methods of discipline, and inspiring in the upbuilding of personal character. Witness mediæval libraries and the labors of patient monks. Others would affirm that the influence of the Roman Catholic Church has been limiting to scholastic progressiveness, teeming with a repetition of irrational or of unrational dogmas, and that, in

atmosphere and legislation, the Church has been made superior to the university, dogma to scholarship, and priest to professor. But there is no question, I believe, among either Protestants or Catholics of every order that the Protestant Church has been devoted to the cause of the higher education. It has made a strong and persistent appeal to the intellect of man. It has sought for truth, and for truth through intellectual methods, by intellectual forces and under intellectual conditions. Nor can there be any more difference of judgment regarding the influence of the Greek Catholic Church on education. It has been and is deadening. The appeal which the Greek Catholic Church makes to a man's intellect is even less persuasive and less insistent and less constant than that which the Roman Catholic Church makes. Its ecclesiastical services are formal. The sermon occupies no place worthy of mention. Its piety seems stagnant, its intellectual vigor and life *nil*. Beliefs are held without reason, and promulgated without reasoning. Evidences for truth which normally appeal to the heart are not recognized. When such a church dominates the higher life of a people, that life cannot be otherwise than unprogressive. The imagination is enslaved, the intellect is dead and dead-

ening, the teacher is the unreasoning priest, and the student remains untaught.

Such conclusions are not absolute or inevitable, but it cannot for an instant be doubted that the stream of tendency in the Greek Catholic Church runs against forceful and free and achieving scholarship. This stream runs in a direction opposite to the great German influences which have, in the land of Protestantism, made its twenty-one universities the most important agencies of the search for, of the discovery and the publication of, truth.

Yet notwithstanding these four serious disadvantages, — the smallness and decadence of the people, the peasant character of the population, the lack of national loyalty, and the dominance of the Greek Catholic Church, — there is a general university life in the University of Bucharest. The five faculties, of theology, law, medicine, science, philosophy and letters, number a hundred professors. Beyond one or two names, and they in particular of the medical faculty, no one of them is widely known. The professional stipends, as at Belgrade and Sophia, are ridiculously and painfully inadequate. The professors feel themselves outside the great intellectual currents. Libraries are small and laboratories insufficient in number

and equipment. But the ordinary work of professor and student is performed nevertheless. Professors pursue their investigations and deliver their lectures. Students take notes at lectures, read books, pass examinations, and receive their degrees in the simple and small senate room.

The most distinct contribution which the university is making to the cause of scholarship is found, as it ought to be found, in the field of archæology and epigraphy. How far forth the Roumanians are justified in claiming racial affinity with the early dwellers on the banks of the Tiber is, as I have intimated, an open question with ethnologists. But the question is not open that the Romans themselves did dwell on these vast Roumanian plains and on the banks of the Danube. Remains of their presence are evident. The road which Trajan made on the right bank of the Danube still shows, as at the defile of Kasan, holes drilled in the rocks in which were put timbers for carrying the road over those places where the rock rose perpendicularly from the water's edge. At Turn-Severin are remains of the pier bridge which he built across the great river. Near by, too, is a tablet which he cut in the solid rock, probably designed to commemorate his first Dacian campaign. It is as follows:

MP. CAESAR DIVI. NERVAE F. NERVA TRAIANUS. AUG. GERM. PONT. MAXIMUS.

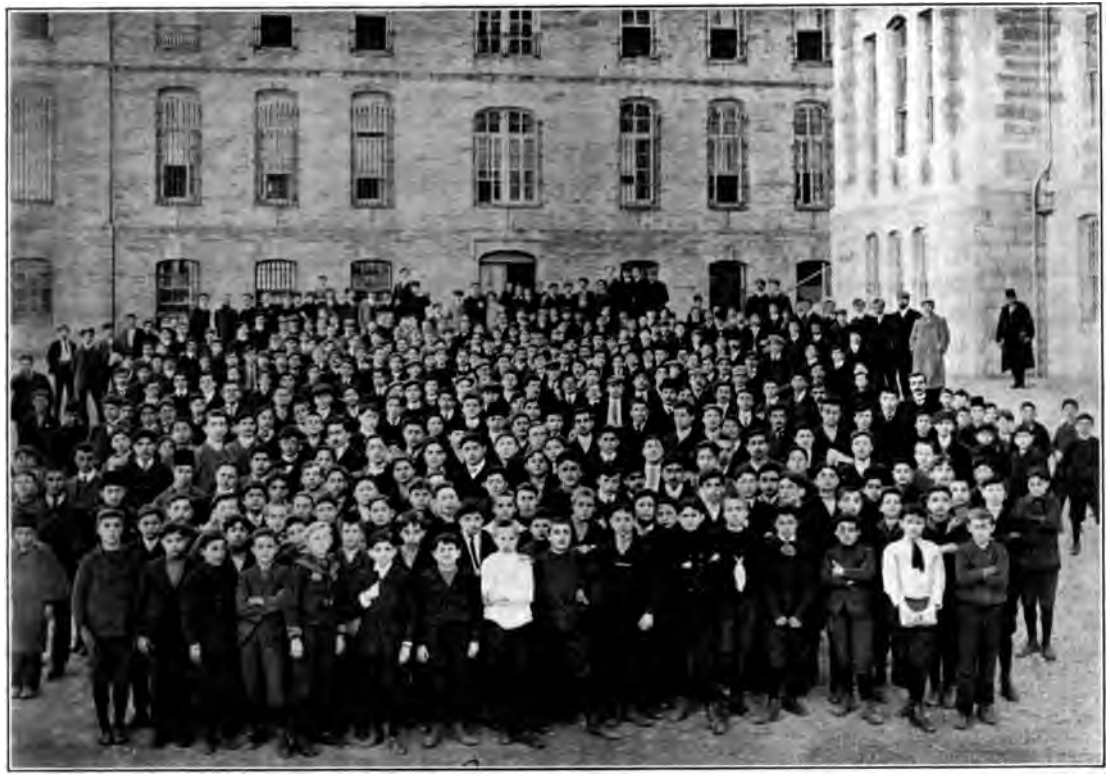
In contrast with such royal evidence of Roman presence and supremacy, yet confirming its conclusions, the Roumanian peasants are to-day making, using, and selling pottery much like the pottery which the Romans themselves made. The museum of the university is filled with funeral tablets and broken statues dug from the fields. Of course, numberless other remains of Roman civilization are still hidden beneath the rich loam. In the discovery of such remains and in the comparison and the inferring of facts regarding this civilization, which the University of Bucharest performs, one deeply rejoices. No recognition of the rule of the Romans in these parts, so remote from their capital, can be made too fine or too hearty. Such daring in adventure, such force and wisdom in administration, such projective power of a central government, the world never saw before, has not seen since, and will probably never see again. To Trajan and to Marcus Aurelius who here died let the University of Bucharest pay reverence.

If in the formal organization of the University of Bucharest German influences are dominant, in the ordinary life

XV

ROBERT COLLEGE ON THE BOSPHORUS

"Sit in this seat," said the professor to me, pointing to his chair at the head of his lecture room. "Look at the desks of the students, and now look out of the window, — and tell me where you would keep your eyes and your mind were a class before you." I followed the instruction. The seats were empty; but my thought easily filled them with two score of students. Out of the window I looked. The silver Bosphorus bent its bow of beauty. The towers and walls which were built when Columbus was sailing toward the west rose in solemn and silent majesty. A vision of castles, of palaces, of villages, of land, and of water met the eye which suggested the struggles and the achievements of man for more than two thousand years. The one spot on the globe which nature and man had marked out as the metropolis of the world was before me. Orthodox and infidel have here fought for their faith or their doubts. The Greek and the barbarian have here grappled. The



STUDENTS OF ROBERT COLLEGE.

East and the West, the North and the South, Asia and Europe, have here met and mingled for twenty centuries, and here they still meet; and hence their forces radiate forth toward their own historic countries and remotest boundaries.

On an abrupt bluff, midway between the Black Sea and the bend of the Golden Horn, stands Robert College. Undoubtedly this is the most commanding academic location in historic significance and impressiveness of the whole world. In making this judgment one does not forget the colleges on the American Pacific Coast, or the historic picturesqueness of the valley of the Thames, or the vision hung before one standing on the marble stairways of the University of Athens. But the Golden Horn is more impressive than the Golden Gate or even the Acropolis.

On this spot, in the year 1869, was erected, as a part of Robert College, a building now known as Hamlin Hall. These names and the date, as well as the place, are significant. Robert represents the name of a New York merchant who, before the Civil War, contemplated building an institution of the higher learning on the Bosphorus. Hamlin means Cyrus Hamlin, a missionary of twoscore years in Turkey, of many, diverse, and laborious services, covering

work as unlike as building bakeries and baking bread for the British soldiers in the Crimean War, as laying the foundation of a college and serving as its president. The year 1869, as one of the years following the great American war, is also significant. For the institution, whose first building was then opened for the reception of students, is the first institution of its kind founded by a single American in a foreign land. Opened in informal ways for receiving students six years before, its condition was, at the very best, uncertain. It was only a question asked by Admiral Farragut on a visit to Constantinople, when he commanded the European squadron in 1867, that gave to Hamlin the right to found his college on the spot where its foundations were finally laid. English, German, French, Russian institutions had long sought to secure a similar concession, but all requests had suffered denial or a delay which was equivalent to denial. For seven years Hamlin worked for this result. At last to a citizen of a government having no political designs on Turkey, and through a naval officer of the government present on the Bosphorus on his flagship, the irade was given. The first building was built, and bore, and still bears, the name of Hamlin. The college was placed under the protection of the United

States. It had and has a right to float, and does float, the American flag.

The worth of the work here accomplished in more than forty years is made most manifest in the lives and careers of its students and graduates. These are the epistles known and read of all men of Southeastern Europe. A fortune so good is seldom granted to a college as that which is given to Robert College in being able to trace with such fulness and directness the mighty influence of its graduates over the destinies of nations and of races. The condition of Turkey and of all Southeastern Europe is now, Heaven knows, bad enough; but bad as it is, it would have been far worse had not men, graduates of the college, been ready to serve and to save. Politics, either municipal, national, or international, has been the field in which the more evident and useful service of these men has been given. The record is impressive. Let me give a few of the biographies of these graduates. Of the two graduates of the class of 1868, one was "Petco Gorbanoff, of Sophia. He has been Deputy to National and to Grand Sobranjié, Secretary of National Sobranjié, General Secretary to Ministry of Justice, Member of the Administrative Council for the Construction of the International Railway,

Assistant Mayor of Sophia, Vice-President of the Bulgarian National Assembly."

Among the six graduates of the class of 1869 were "Theodore J. Djabaroff, Sophia. Director of State Printing Press. He has been teacher at Shoumla, President of Shoumla District Council, Prefect of Sistova, of Plevna, of Varna, of Razgrad, Secretary of the Commission for the Control of State Railways, Director of Varna, Roustchouk and Bourgas Railway, Member of the Technical Commission in the Ministry of Public Works." Also "Peter M. Mattheoff, Athens, Greece. Bulgarian Diplomatic Agent. Has been Clerk in the British Postoffice at Constantinople, Secretary to the British Diplomatic Agent and Consul-General in Bulgaria, Postmaster at Sophia, Secretary to the Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia and Director of his Chancellery, Deputy to the Eastern Roumelian Provincial Assembly, Inspector of Administration of the Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior, Government Commissioner of the Varna-Roustchouk Railway, Director-General of Bulgarian Posts and Telegraphs, Bulgarian Commercial Agent at Adrianople, Chief Commissioner of the Bulgarian Section at the St. Louis Exposition."

In the class of 1875 was Alexander Ludskanoff, Sophia,

ROBERT COLLEGE.

Hamlin Hall.
Science Hall.

Lawyer. "He has been Dragoman to Russian General Staff, Secretary to the Bulgarian Diplomatic Agency at Constantinople, Under-Secretary of State in the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bulgarian Minister of Commerce and Agriculture, Bulgarian Minister of the Interior. He received the following decorations for gallantry: the Russian Order of St. Anne, the Russian Order of St. Stanislaus, Russian Silver Medal, Bulgarian Silver Cross for Military Distinction, Roumanian medal 'Trecerea Dunarii.'"

A similar biography of not a few other graduates, down to the beginning of the present decade, might be given. The record is most impressive. Not a few of its three thousand students have proved to be great men, and the whole body represents a force most useful for the elevation of Southeastern Europe, Asia Minor, and of the neighboring parts of the world. No wise man dares to prophesy what may be the condition of Turkey in Europe, or Turkey in Asia, Servia, Bulgaria, and their companion provinces a hundred years, or even a decade, from this time; but whatever final and definitive settlement of many national, racial, and geographical problems may be made,—even if any settlement, final and definitive, is made,—that settlement

will be more promotive of the happiness of individuals, of the development of nations, and of the lasting welfare of humanity, because to that settlement graduates of an American college on the Bosphorus brought intellectual penetration and judgment, ethical honesty, and executive efficiency. As Professor Ramsay of St. Andrews, traveller and explorer in Asia Minor for many years, has said:

"There can be no better evidence of the good work that has been done than is found in the character and career of these students. With rare exceptions, they have been an honor to the college and a power for good in the nationalities which they represent. . . . I have come in contact with men educated in Robert College in widely separate parts of the country, men of diverse nationalities and different forms of religion—Greek, Armenian, and Protestant — and have everywhere been struck with the marvellous way in which a certain uniform type, direct, simple, honest and lofty in tone, has been impressed upon them. Some had more of it, some less, but all had it to a certain degree." [1]

To these more outstanding services of men of the states-

[1] "Robert College, Constantinople, Its Work and Its Needs," 1904, page 12.

man type should be added services of men who are clergymen, physicians, and merchants. Hundreds of these unknown graduates and students have given a good account of themselves in their cities of the plains and their villages of the hills. The whole record is one which makes any man interested in the history and efficiency of colleges or in the betterment of the race glad and grateful.

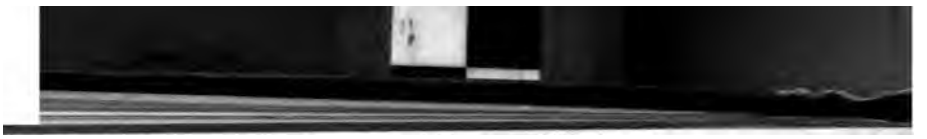
Robert College has been at once a Harvard and Yale of the Near East. It has been a Harvard in being the first college established in the Turkish Empire. It has been a Yale in being the mother of colleges, though Yale was itself established by Harvard graduates. It has helped to develop the missionary colleges of Turkey, of Syria, and of other lands. Its foundation was soon followed by the establishment of the great Syrian Protestant College in Beirut. The recently deposed Sultan, though not distinguished as a promoter of education, yet established more schools than all his predecessors, at least on paper.

The means used and methods adopted in securing these great results in and through Robert College have been the lasting and common forces of personality and truth. The two most important personalities have been the two presidents, Hamlin and Washburn. Hamlin was a genius,

and, like geniuses, adopted unique methods. He was a genius in training men, as well as in discovering resources and applying processes. In the first years of the college he organized no regular classes, but knowing and picking out students, he gave them such studies and directions as he thought would best prepare them for their destined careers. That he was a wise educator, even if gloriously unsystematic, the careers of these graduates prove. Washburn (his son-in-law), who spent a half century in Constantinople, was and is large of mind and of heart, of a statesman's vision and prevision, judicial yet energetic, an American, yet sympathetic with men of many nationalities, and acquainted with the diverse national and individual forces that meet and mingle on the Bosphorus. He has been at once the inspirer of students, the leader of his scholastic associates, and the counsellor of ambassadors and secretaries of state. With Hamlin and Washburn, during these more than two score years, have for a longer or shorter time been associated as teachers such men as Grosvenor, now of Amherst, Hoyt of Auburn, Nash of Oakland, Taylor of Dartmouth, and others. Many Americans have, for two or three years, put good work into the education and training of these young Greeks and Armenians.

The personality of these American teachers has been given unto men of several races and diverse tongues. The Greek and the Armenian are the more common. Many Bulgarians are also found. A few, but only a few, Turks are numbered among the three thousand students. The religious principles held by these men are as diverse as are their nationalities. Their principles are recognized and respected by the academic authorities. Though the college represents an undenominational type of Protestant Christianity, yet its purpose has been aimed rather at the rejuvenation of the faith of members of the Greek Catholic or Armenian churches than at their formal adoption into the Protestant fold.

The training given through personality has not, by any manner of means, been confined to members of the official staff. Students everywhere influence each other, and some would say, speaking out of their personal experience, influence each other far more than do teachers. But at all events the influence of students of unlike training and races, properly related, over each other, is of an immense educational value. Athletics and religious and literary societies are the forces for the giving and receiving such personal, undergraduate influences. Whatever tends to prove



to an Armenian, to a Turk, to a Greek, or to a Bulgarian that the human element in character is more fundamental and more significant than the racial is good for the man himself, and also good in promoting, during the following generation, international peace and fellowship. At this very point lies a problem of the college, — to make these students, whose different nations hate each other, live in a common respect and hearty fellowship which shall not only be peaceful, but which also shall tend to lessen national bitterness. A game of football, or of baseball, or even such a wrestling match as I have seen going on on the floor of the gymnasium of the college, help forward the promotion at once of proper personal and racial relations. Knowledge promotes fellowship; and fellowship, knowledge.

The influence of personalities without truth is in peril of becoming narrowing, as the influence of truth without personality is in danger of ineffectiveness. The truth which the teachers of Robert College teach is in some respects unique; and in others it is part of the general academic tradition. The prescribed studies of the senior year include English Composition, Vernacular, Latin, History, International Law, Physics, Geology, Astronomy,

Psychology, History of Philosophy, Evidences of Christianity. The elective studies include in addition some dozen subjects. The unique elements most evidently emerge in the languages. Greek here easily maintains its historic place. It is studied with an interest and with the inspiration of traditions which are not possible for boys whose native tongue is English, or French, or German. Lads who speak Greek take to Homer, Demosthenes, Aristotle, and Plato more readily than do Western youth. The influence of this, their vernacular, over these Greek students seems to be altogether favorable to its value as a general academic discipline. But besides Greek are offered Armenian, Bulgarian, and Turkish as well as somewhat of Arabic and Persian. But of course these tongues have none of the wealth of literature and none of the nobility of tradition belonging to the Greek. With, therefore, its French and German and English instruction, Robert College is indeed a great polyglot.

The fundamental intellectual difference between the education of the East and the education of the West lies in the fact that the education of the East emphasizes learning, employing the memory as its chief intellectual force; and the education of the West emphasizes thinking, em-

ploying reasoning as its chief intellectual faculty. This difference is wide, as well as fundamental. The difference represents a distance as great as divides the East from the West. One chief reason for the introduction of Western methods of education into the East lies in the fact that its introduction does result in the substitution of thinking for learning, of reasoning for memorizing. For learning stands for passivity and conservatism; thinking, for activity and advance. Robert College, and other colleges of Western origin, founded in the East, Near or Far, stand for the educational method and force of thinking and reasoning. The Mohammedan boy, sitting upon his heels on the floor of a mosque in Constantinople, moving his body forward and backward, audibly repeating the verses of the Koran which he is memorizing, represents the one type of education, and also of civilization: here is motion without progress. A Robert College boy in a lecture room, grappling with a hard problem in political economy, represents the other, the Western type of education and of civilization. He is a thinker, and being a thinker, he belongs to the eternal and forthputting order of the progressives.

XVI

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAIRO

THE number of the followers of Islam is variously estimated. The extremes might be set down as seventy millions and one hundred millions. This vast number is in respect to education among the most backward of all peoples which claim the epithet civilized. A majority live in India. Compared with the Hindus, with whom they are brought in constant and close rivalry, they represent a form of education far less worthy than the type which Hindu education embodies. If the value of Hindu education should be interpreted by the number ninety, Mohammedan could not worthily claim a larger percentage than ten. The causes of this backwardness are manifold and diverse. The causes obtaining in India have been noted as the love of arms rather than of learning, the presence of indolence and improvidence, the unwillingness of those of the higher class to associate with the lower, the use in government schools of text-books opposed to the faith, the memory of former superiority, and deep attachment to

Mohammedan learning. There are also causes of a strictly educational character which retard Mohammedan education. Among them are: "The teaching of the mosque must precede the lessons of the school. The one object of a young Hindu is to obtain an education which will fit him for an official or a professional career. But before the young Mohammedan is allowed to turn his thoughts to secular instruction, he must commonly pass some years in going through a course of sacred learning. The Mohammedan boy, therefore, enters school later than the Hindu. . . . He very often leaves school at an earlier age. The Mohammedan parent belonging to the better classes is usually poorer than the Hindu parent in a corresponding social position. He cannot afford to give his son so complete an education. . . . Irrespective of his worldly means, the Mohammedan parent often chooses for his son while at school an education which will secure for him an honored place among the learned of his own community rather than one which will command a success in the modern professions or in official life. The years which the young Hindu gives to English and mathematics in a public school, the young Mohammedan devotes in a madrassa to Arabic and the law and theology of Islam. When such an

University of Cairo.

education is completed, it is to the vocation of a man of learning, rather than to the more profitable professions, that the thoughts of a promising Mohammedan youth naturally turn." [1]

The working of these causes, general in their application, so manifold and so diverse, are embodied in the chief school of the higher education of the Mohammedan world, — the university known as El-Azhar at Cairo.

El-Azhar is first and last Mohammedan. The place is a mosque, the teachers are priests, the text-book is the Koran. For those whose native language is not Arabic, instruction begins by learning the Arabic grammar; for those whose native language is Arabic, the Koran is at once opened. The religious teachings of the book are first learned; these teachings include the unity, the omnipresence, the omniscience of the God of many names. It also embraces the existence of angels, the written revelation, predestination, the resurrection, the judgment, the eternal life, and the calling of prophets, of whom the greatest are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Jesus, and Mohammed. The personal and social ethics of the Koran are also taught, in-

[1] "A History of English Education in India," by Syed Mahmood, page 169.

cluding charity, hospitality, frugality, prohibition of unclean meats and of intoxicating drinks. Regular praying also represents a social, personal, and religious duty. The legal teachings are not neglected. The legal teachings of the Koran represent the precepts of God in relation to the action of men. Following these precepts, lessons in jurisprudence, logic, rhetoric, the proper method of reciting the Koran, and the right pronunciation of letters represent the subjects of instruction.

The method of the instruction embodies the sheer lift of memory. It is such an impressing of words on the mind that the lips can fluently repeat them. Thousands and tens of thousands of Mohammedan youth can repeat all the Koran, as tens of thousands of Chinese youth can repeat the Six Books of Confucius. The task is one of tremendous magnitude. The Koran has been translated into English, French, German, Italian, and Latin. The translation of the book is, however, forbidden. Therefore, those whose native speech is not Arabic, even with their knowledge of Arabic grammar, find the hundreds of pages, more numerous than the Christian New Testament, the hard work of years. Indian, Turkish, and Persian students are inclined to learn these paragraphs by rote.

A Mohammedan learning it is which is thus offered. A comparison between this course and the course offered in the Western college or university is full of contrasts, wide and deep and high.

But in a single, and it is a most impressive, respect, the contrast is to the advantage of the institution in Cairo. This respect represents the influence of personality. In the great room covering no less than 3600 square yards are found in different hours of the day thousands of students grouped about hundreds of teachers. The teacher sits upon the floor, or in a low chair. About him are assembled a dozen, more or less, of men squatting in a semicircle. The teacher is reading from and commenting on the Koran. The students listen and write. What the one imparts, what the others receive, may to the Western mind seem slight or fantastic, but more important than the presumed truth conveyed and accepted is the personality of the teacher himself. The teacher does give himself. Aristotle somewhere says that eloquence does not teach. He referred primarily to the impartation of truth; but the eloquent teacher does impart himself, and imparts himself the more impressively by reason of his eloquence. The Mohammedan

teacher, as I have seen and heard him in such capitals as Constantinople and Cairo, does give himself. Amiel said, as I have quoted in the chapter on the University of Geneva, and his practice embodied his thought, that the personality of the student is a treasure so sacred and so personal that the teacher ought not to be willing to impress upon it his own personality. No such belief or practice belongs to the Mohammedan expounder. Himself he regards as one of the greatest factors in the education which he seeks to give the student. The intellectual results of this training are for the individual, I fear, of slight worth. In answer to my question asked of a government chemist living in Cairo for ten years regarding the value of this training, he replied, "Nothing." Certainly the whole testimony, offered both in Confucian and Mohammedan countries, respecting the intellectual value of the education given through the constant and heavy loading of the powers of linguistic acquisition is wholly against its worth. The sheer weight of a multitude of unrelated facts crushes out mind. Mental atrophy results.

The evil of this result is manifest in several ways, — in the lack of the use of science, in the lack of personal

initiative, and in the lack of personal and common efficiency. In general, the disastrous effect of this training is felt in the want of all progressive elements of mind, body, and character. Things are as they have been, and things will be as they are. The farmer uses the same little wooden stick for ploughing which his fathers used forty generations ago; and the same level which one finds pictured on the walls of the tombs of the kings one finds in the hands of the carpenter to-day in Cairo. Egyptian character and the Egyptian types have persisted throughout all the ages, despite the engrafting of new tissue and the inflowing of new blood. As the Saxon absorbed the conquering Norman, so Egypt has converted its conqueror, be he Syrian or Assyrian, Roman or Greek, into a being much like himself. These vast racial conditions and results are not, of course, the effects of the *memoriter* process of education, but I am sure that mere mental acquisitiveness, without reasoning or forcefulness, has helped on what is apparently a racial tendency.

This imitative principle of race and of religion is also made manifest by the method of living which is pursued in the El-Azhar University of Cairo. The principle of the "nations" is respected quite as thoroughly as it is at Up-

sala. At Cairo the students from Morocco, from Turkey, and from other parts do not have their separate houses as in Sweden's historic school, but they do have their separate apartments in the great mosque. In one large room live the students of each of the different nations. On the floor they sleep, and on the floor they sit at their simple meals. On the walls are piled up the boxes containing the few clothes that a Mohammedan schoolboy needs. It must be confessed that the hygienic and moral conditions resulting from such close and constant relationships are not wholesome. But wholesomeness is a matter of relativity. It may be added that this unwholesomeness is not confined to the great building and its connected courts. It extends to the narrow streets and alleys of the whole neighborhood. Oriental filthiness and crowding, Oriental hawking and bargaining, Oriental noisiness and noisomeness beat against the walls of the institution of the higher education and help to make it other than educative.

All these accommodations are, at least after the first year, given to the student without charge. The education of El-Azhar is an education freer than the American public school or than the state university system recognizes or uses. The American system has seldom gone farther than

to give free lunches to underfed pupils, but the Mohammedan university at Cairo offers free bed and free board. Neither is any charge made for tuition. The cost is met from endowments provided by loyal Mohammedans of the past. In fact, the teachers themselves receive no, or only small, fees, gaining their support from private teaching, from copying books, or from religious offices. Such freedom of instruction helps to explain the large number of older men whom one finds in this body of seven thousand students. Although three years represent the normal term, yet not a few vastly lengthen out this period of residence.

The immediate and direct result of the training given at El-Azhar is the making of the student into a teacher, or into a leader of the people, of his native village. He may become a lecturer like the turbaned, black-gowned man to whom he daily listens, and whom he filially reveres. Returning to the village whence he has come, he will find opportunity for helping the few score or hundreds of his people.

But beyond this immediate result, and also beyond the intellectual worth of the training thus given in the most conspicuous Mohammedan school of the world,

emerges the question what is the value of this education for the peoples of the Mohammedan race and of the Mohammedan religion. I fear that a large interpretation results inevitably in giving one answer. Not only does . s training, as I have said, tend toward intellectual atrophy and stagnation, but also it promotes religious intolerance and ethical narrowness. Its influence is for the lessening of the vital elements of a progressive race. That such results are the natural and inevitable consequences of the system not a few Mohammedans — and they the more liberal — recognize. Liberal Mohammedans are seeking to remove the forces from which such effects spring. They have indeed been seeking to found a national university in Egypt which should be worthy of the name and of the past of their country, but their endeavors have not been well conceived. Few of them know what a university is. The English government in Egypt can hardly aid them, for the need of primary education is even greater than the need of advanced, as it must be in a nation in which out of all public expenditures less than two per cent are given for education. The Mohammedans of India are seeking to improve their historic university at Alagarth, but the results so far are slight. The causes

which have for more than a thousand years retarded the progress of Mohammedan education still exist. It is to be feared that they will exist so long as superiority in arms is regarded as more excellent than superiority in wisdom.

XVII

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

In his essay on Bacon, Macaulay says that "two words form the key of the Baconian doctrine — utility and progress." In a similar way Macaulay might, looking up to the senate house of the University of Calcutta, say, "Two words form the key of what I tried to do for India — utility and progress."

In the year 1834 Macaulay landed in Madras. Although his purpose in coming to India was not to form or to reform the educational politics of the empire, yet his work in behalf of education was among the greatest works he ever performed, and perhaps the greatest work ever performed by one man for the education of a nation. At the time of his arrival, all educational effort had ceased by reason of divisions in the committee on public instruction. Five members of this committee were determined to maintain a scheme of education long in existence. This scheme consisted of giving stipends to students in Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic. Joined with

ENGINEERING COLLEGE, MADRAS.

PRESIDENCY COLLEGE, CALCUTTA.

this method was the method of making large grants for the issuing of books in these three languages. The other five members of the committee were determined to teach to Indian students the simple elements of knowledge in their own vernacular, and the higher branches in the English tongue. As a result of this apparently irreconcilable difference Macaulay wrote a minute in which he argued for the use of the English tongue. This minute, as long as one of his essays, is thoroughly Macaulayese in diction and in illustration. He says:

"In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. It is the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australasia; communities which are every year becoming more important, and more closely connected with our Indian Empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature or at the particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects.

"The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject, which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, whenever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronize sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines, which would disgrace an English farrier — astronomy, which would move laughter in the girls at an English boarding-school — history, abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reigns thirty thousand years long — and geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter." [1]

The minute thus made was adopted by Lord William Bentinck and his council in 1835, under the vote:

"His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for

[1] "A History of English Education in India," by Syed Mahmood, pages 50–51.

the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone." [1]

As a result of this vote, Macaulay was made the president of a body called to execute its provisions. The task was complex, large, difficult. If the larger share of the Hindu community was in favor of English learning, a still larger part of the strong Mohammedan community was opposed. The forces for carrying out the vote were thoroughly inadequate. The general staff was unorganized. No training schools for teachers had been founded. No body of proper associates were at his command. But, as a master of principles, as well as a master of routine, Macaulay at once rose to the greatness of the opportunity. His work, done in five years, directed the course of education, primary and university, for the remaining decades of the nineteenth century, and its influence still abides.

The foundation of the three great universities of Calcutta, of Bombay, and of Madras, in the year 1857, are among the results of Macaulay's service. It is notable that these foundations were laid in the year of the great

[1] "A History of English Education in India," by Syed Mahmood, page 51.

Mutiny. The stirring of the mind of a nation over great affairs usually results, as I have before intimated, in the laying of educational foundations. Calcutta was the first to be incorporated. It was, after due deliberation, modelled upon the University of London. It was made an examining institution, with the right of conferring degrees in art, law, medicine, and civil engineering. In its constitution it is composed of a chancellor, vice-chancellor, and senate. The governing body, or syndicate, consists of the vice-chancellor and certain members of the senate.

The early constitution of the University of Calcutta has, like the constitution of its model, the University of London, been the subject of fundamental change. Experience has proved various shortcomings of a purely examining university, and the university on the banks of the Hooghly, as well as the university on the banks of the Thames, has taken steps to become a teaching, as well as an examining and degree-conferring, institution.

The amount of tuition, however, given directly by the University of Calcutta is still small. The large share of the students who come up for either the matriculation or the degree examination have received their education

in affiliated colleges. These colleges are in part missionary, and in part somewhat personal foundations. In any one examination of the University may be found students from Hindu, Mohammedan, Christian, and un-Christian colleges. The examination room in the senate house of the University on an examination day is a microcosm of the races, the religious beliefs, the castes, and the diverse cultures of India.

The breadth of the service rendered to the people of India and to the people of the world by the University of Calcutta is intimated in the number and variety of subjects in which it examines candidates for its degrees. I doubt if any university offers a larger number. Among them are English, Bengali, Hindi, Uriya, Assamese, Burmese, Urdu, Modern Armenian, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Hebrew, Classical Armenian, Greek, Latin, French, German, History, Political Economy and Political Philosophy, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Physiology, Botany, Zoölogy.

The list is appalling, but it is to be remembered that the topics cover professional, as well as undergraduate, knowledge. The teaching in many of these subjects is not carried so far as it is in the better American colleges.

The teaching in science in particular is limited, though large progress is now being made. The teaching in Latin and Greek, also, is not prolonged. The place which these two classical languages occupy in Western education is taken in Indian education by the Sanskrit, as in Japanese education it is taken by the Chinese, classics. I have asked not a few of the most learned men of India whether India lost by studying Sanskrit and not Greek. The answer has invariably been in the negative. Sanskrit offers a literature as rich as that of Plato and Æschylus. Its philosophy is declared to be more attractive to the philosophic mind, as by common confession the Hindu mind is more metaphysical than the Greek. Its poetry is as noble. The value of the study of the Sanskrit language as an intellectual discipline is quite as great as the study of the Greek language. Its grammar is as regular; its forms are as finely scientific; and its whole spirit and atmosphere as philosophic. The Indian student thus finds in Sanskrit the same culture and training which the Western finds in the Greek language and literature. But, although the Sanskrit grammar is exact and affluent, it is also clear that these early scholars were not logicians. Grammar represents their highest attainments. In orderliness of concep-

tion, in freedom from the fantastic, the Greek is superior to the Sanskrit.

The difficulty in the administration of the University of Calcutta, and of the other universities of India, does not at all lie, therefore, in the lack of proper subjects of learning, or of examination; but difficulties do lie, and they are serious ones, in the nature of the intellectual habits of the students themselves. The Indian student is not a student of the type in which the college officer and teacher rejoices. He lacks those virtues which are summed up in the good old word thoroughness. He finds it hard to concentrate his mind on a single subject. His heart seems fixed upon the prizes which the higher education may offer, rather than upon the higher education itself. He sacrifices power to honor. This lack of thoroughness, too, has relation to the typical Indian character. The Hindu is slight in body. His muscles are thin. He seems feeble, as well as small. He is precocious, premature. He may enter the university at fourteen, and become a bachelor of arts at eighteen. He may also be married before the age of eighteen. The support of a family does not promote thoroughness or length of university careers.

Closely joined with the lack of thoroughness is the too

high place given to memory in scholastic concerns. The Hindu has a quick power of learning. This power is greater than the power of reasoning. The daily work of students illustrates the high place given to the memory. A teacher who prepares students for passing examinations of the University of Calcutta has said to me that they learn geometry purely as a memorizing process. This lack of reasoning helps to explain the interesting phenomenon that India has never produced more than three able mathematicians, and these three not of the first order. In the sixth, seventh, and twelfth centuries appeared three algebraists who have a good place in the history of the most rational of the pure sciences.

A third difficulty which the University of Calcutta labors under in leading the education of the youth of India arises from a lack of a sense of proportion in the Indian mind. This lack is both of the head and of the emotional nature. The habit of exaggeration is both symbol and result of this evil. In his convocation address of 1905 Lord Curzon said:

"It is quite a common thing to see the most extravagant account of ordinary occurrences or the most fanciful motives attributed to persons. Invention and imputa-

tion flourish in an unusual degree. There is a thing which we call in English a mare's nest, by which we mean a pure figment of the imagination, something so preposterous as to be unthinkable. Yet I know no country where mares' nests are more prolific than here. Some ridiculous concoction is publicly believed until it is officially denied. Very often a whole fabric of hypothesis is built out of nothing at all. Worthy people are extolled as heroes. Political opponents are branded as malefactors. Immoderate adjectives are flung about as though they had no significance. The writer, no doubt, did not mean to lie. But the habit of exaggeration has laid such firm hold of him that he is like a man who has taken too much drink, and who sees two things where there is only one or something where there is nothing. As he writes in hyperbole, so he tends to think in hyperbole, and he ends by becoming blind to the truth." [1]

A further difficulty under which the higher education in India labors is the dominance of the examination. That dominance, which has so long prevailed in England, and in so many respects disastrously, has tyrannized Indian

[1] Convocation of the Senate, for conferring degrees, the 11th February, 1905.

education for more than half a century. The successful issue of an examination is the goal, far off or near, on which the student fixes his heart. That issue determines whether he shall be able to win yet another object of his ambition, a position under the government. Such a position by a Hindu of the middle class is most coveted. For under the narrow conditions of Indian society, the places he can accept are few. Therefore the examination system has been and is a dominating force in education of every order. Its influence, on the whole, has been and still is evil. It stimulates mere learning; it represses thinking; it narrows the scope of training; it makes instruction a type of the pump handle as Thring of Uppingham would say, and robs education of its liberalizing character. It makes the student a collector of facts, and not a gentleman of culture and of intellectual, ethical, and æsthetic appreciations. But, be it added, in India, as in England, this system, so narrowing, so devitalizing, is losing somewhat its enslaving grip and influence.

Through the University of Calcutta and its companion universities the greatest progress made in education lies in the field of medicine and of pedagogy. In these two departments the work of the university on the Hooghly

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STUDENTS OF ELPHINSTONE COLLEGE.

is Occidental. It links itself, however, with those institutions of the West who hold to the liberalizing value of professional education. Calcutta does not directly require the student to take his bachelor of arts degree before entering upon his course for the degree of bachelor of medicine as do the best medical colleges of America. The whole medical course covers, however, no less than six years. The method is, on the whole, like that prevailing in the University of London. Normally the student enters upon his medical practice at the age of twenty-two, some four years earlier than the customary age in America, but in this case he has usually had a short, or no, period of residence in a hospital.

India, through its universities, is also seeking to improve education of every order in giving a better training to its teachers. One of Macaulay's serious difficulties sixty years ago was a lack of good teachers. The difficulty is still serious. I can give no more adequate presentation of what the University of Calcutta is seeking to do in the training of teachers than by indicating some of the subjects in which it examines. Upon the theory and art of teaching in relation to mental and moral science, it presents these topics:

The physical basis of mental life; sensation, perception, attention, memory, association of ideas, assimilation of knowledge, feeling and volition; their associated physical conditions.

Mental evolution in the individual — characteristics of different ages: — infancy and childhood, the school age, and the succeeding period.

The training of the senses; — coördination of sense and movement.

The cultivation of attention and interest; the cultivation of the imagination and the emotions; the æsthetic basis of intellectual education.

The logical basis of education; logical method — theory of the five formal steps; abstraction, generalisation and conception; order of the acquisition of knowledge.

Language, imitation and play as factors in education; growth of the linguistic faculty.

The training and discipline of the emotions; cultivation of sympathy and the social emotions; of the moral sentiment.

The training of the will; formation of habits; rewards and punishments; authority and discipline; the moral standard; the moral ideal and moral progress.

Characters of individual children; marks of brightness and cleverness; marks of deficiency and abnormality; atavism, physical and moral.

Tests of visualizing power, memory, verbal memory, command of language, sense of number, and the computing capacity, with the conditions of their growth and decline.

Educational values and educational ends. Education: classical and scientific, liberal and technical, general and special. Civic education. Coördination and sequence of studies. National systems of education: the primary, the secondary, and the university stage.[1]

The need of teaching and training in another profession is quite as great as in medicine and pedagogy; it is the general field of engineering. The Indian mind is rather literary than scientific, philosophic than practical. But India, as a country, needs development. The railroad system of thirty thousand miles is still inadequate. The irrigation systems need vast improvement and enlargement. The agricultural system is terribly imperfect, as famines, both regular and irregular, prove. Many of the appliances and forces of civilization, electric, hydraulic, should be introduced. The great needs of India

[1] "Regulations of the Calcutta University," pages 245–246.

are technical. The few technical schools now established are insufficient in number and inadequate in force. As said the president of the best college in India, "We are trying to oblige the Indian man to adopt these technical callings, but it is a long and hard struggle."

The great day for the student, for the examiner, for the teacher, for the vice-chancellor and the chancellor of the University of Calcutta, as of every university, is the day of the annual convocation. This day falls in what would be, in America, the very midst of the academic year. It is a day not unlike the similar day at Oxford, or at either the old or the new Cambridge. It is an occasion which appeals alike to the eye, to the ear, and to the heart of man. The assembling of candidates for degrees, the crowds of interested and wondering spectators, the band playing popular airs, the additional force of policemen, the general atmosphere of expectancy, are as common in the university on the Hooghly and the university of the Punjab as in the university on the Charles. But in one respect the difference is marked. In India the state or civil authority is manifestly made superior to the academic. The governor-general or lieutenant-governor presides, confers degrees, and awards honors.

The university on the Hooghly is also more punctilious as regards academic order and ceremonial. Academic costume is prescribed with far more care than in the American college. It is said that: "Graduates shall wear a European dress with a college cap, or a chapkan and trousers with a shawl pagree and black taz." No less than eight requirements are also laid down for the gowns and hoods of the several degrees.

But a still more important and fundamental difference is made plain in the questions which the chancellor addresses to the candidates for degrees. These questions are significant:

"*Chancellor.* — Do you sincerely promise and declare that if admitted to the Degrees for which you are severally candidates, and for which you have been recommended, you will in your daily life and conversation conduct yourselves as becomes members of the university?

"*Candidate.* — I do promise.

"*Chancellor.* — Do you promise that to the utmost of your opportunity and ability you will support and promote the cause of morality and sound learning?

"*Candidate.* — I do promise.

"*Chancellor.* — Do you promise that you will, as far as

in you lies, uphold and advance the social order and the well-being of your fellow-men?

"*Candidate.* — I do promise.

"*Chancellor.* — Let the candidates be presented."

In conclusion, the chancellor confers a degree under the following form:

"By virtue of the authority vested in me as Chancellor of the University, I admit you to the Degree of ——, and in token thereof, I present to you this Diploma and authorize you to wear the robes ordained as the insignia of this Degree."

Thus the candidate of the five universities of India is introduced to his world of work and of service. It is a world smaller than the world which awaits the American or English graduate. The caste system is still alive. It is a service, too, which does not quicken the highest faculties, as do similar opportunities in the western hemisphere. But both the world and the service which are open to the Hindu graduate are sufficiently large and needy to receive his richest knowledge, his clearest judgment, his keenest conscientiousness, and his largest and most constant efficiency.

Ormond College.

Examination Hall.

University of Melbourne.

XVIII

THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

THE lamp of learning, standing in the big island-world of Australia, is carefully tended by four universities. They are Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, and Hobart. Of such careful tending is need. For Australia is new, remote from historic scholastic influences, and represents, be it at once said, in its social structure the triumph of the commonplace. Of the scholastic work and interests of the Commonwealth the University of Melbourne is the best representative.

The University of Melbourne was founded in the first decade of the coming of white men a half century ago. Instruction was first given in 1855. Scotchmen were among the leaders in laying its foundations. The race which helped to establish America's second college, William and Mary, at the close of the seventeenth century, had a large share in the beginning of the Australian institutions of the higher learning. These men were familiar with Edinburgh and Glasgow, with Aberdeen and St.

Andrews. They laid the foundations deeply and widely, with trustfulness in humanity, and with a characteristic sense of financial acuteness. They did not establish a national or a state university, yet they were not willing for the important interests of the higher education to be intrusted to the chances of the changing opinions of a church or of an individual. They, therefore, in the university foundation and administration, created a council which is still the highest governing board, and a senate, consisting of male graduates who have received a master's or a doctor's degree, which has confirmatory and veto powers. The selection of the members of the council has come to rest upon the graduates of the university who are members of the senate, a method wise in many respects for fulfilling important academic functions. Three members of the council are also appointed by the governor-in-council. The founders also determined to make toward its support an annual grant from the public chest. This annual grant has been continued and increased, amounting at the present time to at least one hundred thousand dollars, or the interest at five per cent on an endowment of two million.

The exterior side of the university is embodied in a

score of halls, in which those for the natural and physical sciences for both the liberal arts department and the medical department represent a large share. The original block of buildings contains, besides offices, the library and lecture rooms. The largest individual donation which the university ever received from individuals is represented in Wilson Hall, costing about $150,000. Ormond College, affiliated with the university, represents about $500,000, a gift from Francis Ormond. Wilson Hall is used in public ceremonials and for purposes of examination. The grounds cover a large tract of one hundred acres, about one mile from Melbourne's centre. The athletic field has no less than sixteen acres. The whole impression is one of that general largeness which belongs to the free world of Australia.

Since its establishment, a half century ago, the University of Melbourne has received from individuals not far from three quarters of a million of dollars. This money has been devoted to all the purposes which are represented in a university — scholastic, administrative, and in the construction of buildings. The most popular service, however, is represented in funds for prizes or for scholarships. Francis Ormond gave $100,000 for a professor-

ship of music, and John Hastie about the same sum for general endowment; but sums running from $5000 to $25,000 have been given to found a Shakespeare scholarship, scholarships in natural history and English, scholarships for modern languages, scholarships for physical and chemical research, scholarships in mathematics, scholarships in surgery and pathology, scholarships for the study of poetry. Large prizes also for scientific research, for music and mechanical engineering, for history and education have been endowed.

In further characteristic pecuniary wisdom, and in a large appreciation of relations, these founders determined to make their university as good a one, in a most important respect, as money could give. They knew of the large incomes which several of the chairs of Edinburgh receive through the direct payment of fees of students to their occupants. They knew that, though a university does not exist for money, it cannot exist without money; and they also knew that if the administration possessed ordinary wisdom, the larger the amount of money paid in stipends to teachers, the worthier will be the teaching, and the more efficient the university itself. This large pecuniary policy thus inaugurated has been continued.

At the present time, in proportion to the cost of living, the largest university salaries of the world are paid to the professors in the University of Melbourne. The normal salary received by some of the older teachers is $6000 and a house. The cost of living is so low that, as one of the professors said to me, one can easily save $3000 each year. The stipends in the other universities are somewhat smaller.

This pecuniary freedom is significant of the large place which the college teacher occupies in the life of the people. The position he holds naturally commands respect; and his own character is usually such as to add still further to its respectability. The social side is whatever one wishes to make it. The position of intellectual leadership is also and inevitably given to the college teacher. He represents the literary element more completely, too, than any other personality. It must be confessed that literature has not in Australia come to its own proper inheritance. It is still either an outlaw or a child unborn. Poetry, essay, history, are still lacking. Neither good review nor magazine nor critical journal exists. The attempts, few and sporadic, made to establish them have resulted in failure. The college teacher is therefore obliged

to assume whatever of literary influence and leadership the community is willing to accept. He is also, as in the United States, above most parts of the world, "the voice" for convention and convocation.

But into one form of leadership the college professor is not permitted to enter, even if he desire, — the political. By the terms of his office he is not suffered to take part in partisan politics. Voting is recognized as his right, but never can he step foot upon the hustings. The nature of this prohibition probably results in such conduct as any wise teacher in any American college would represent in the midst of any political campaign. The American college professor recognizes that it is not quite fair for him to use his professorship as a makeweight or a sounding-board to promote partisan measures and movements. But the Australian authorities determine to make the certainty of such proper behavior absolute. They have succeeded; and, be it added, the incumbents of college chairs usually recognize the fitness of the prohibition.

One serious difficulty under which the Australian teacher and Australia itself labors is isolation. He is remote from the great tides of scholastic life. He cannot feel the inspirations of such fellowships, scholarly and

personal, as naturally belong to English, German, and American institutions. He is in peril of intellectual stagnation and of intellectual and emotional pettiness. The handiest prevention of this peril lies in the semi-public scholastic life which the professor is obliged to follow. Such a life does not directly promote critical scholarship. But it does help to remove one from the danger of mental apathy and atrophy.

Australia and New Zealand are the favorite breeding ground of socialistic theory and practice. They are a great experiment station for socialists. But the origin of such thinking and invention is not academic. In fact, the course of study of Melbourne seems singularly wanting in the subjects of sociology, government, and economics. The origin and the spring of this great human movement in Australia are to be found in Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward," a book that was widely read and by thoughtful people, and in the personality and lectures of Henry George. George's theories fell as seeds into a soil of legal uncertainty regarding land titles. This uncertainty arose from "squatting," from mortgaging and foreclosure, methods and processes which had become lamentably and disastrously common. George's theories, therefore, or

theories growing out of his single-tax doctrine, were easy of adoption.

The life of the students, like the life of their teachers, seems to be such as the students of most universities lead. If one were to seek a European type of the student life of Melbourne, one would turn naturally to Scotland. These Melbourne men represent the simplicity of character, the pecuniary competency as remote from poverty as it is from wealth, and the habit of hard work which characterize the Edinburgh and Aberdeen students. They are probably more able to pay their fees for tuition of about one hundred dollars a year than are many of the Scottish students. For Australia is the paradise of the average man in whom is answered the prayer of Agar of being neither poor nor rich.

The course covers three years. These students are — unlike their teachers, and also unlike their brother students in India — able to take part in political affairs. In such affairs they evince much enthusiasm. They are also, like the Australian nation, much given to sports; but they are not, also like that nation, much given to sporting. Their life is on the whole simple. Australian universities are coeducational, yet few of the women of

Australia go to college; about one in five of all students is a woman. None of those problems which arise in some of the coeducational colleges of the United States, where women outnumber the men, arise to trouble the mind of the academic faculty or the heart of the masculine undergraduate.

The founders of Melbourne, and their followers in two generations, have carried out the early policy of determination that questions of sectarian interpretation of Christianity should not spring up to perplex and to annoy. But they — the Scotchmen — were not slow in recognizing that religion, and even denominational religion, has its place in human belief and practice. They therefore arranged for the four chief churches of the Commonwealth to establish colleges about the university. These four were the Church of England, the Presbyterian, the Methodist, and the Roman Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic Church has not availed itself of its right, but the three other organizations have established auxiliary institutions. These church colleges supplement the work which the university offers. This federation seems to work to the general satisfaction of all. The nearest type on American soil is found in the University of Toronto.

Suggestions regarding the federation of the four universities of Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, and Hobart into one university of Australia have been made. The University of New Zealand is simply a federation of the four colleges of Auckland, Christchurch, Wellington, and Dunedin. But such suggestions have not been received with favor. The University of Melbourne, as does each of the other universities, feels itself so strong that it does not require confederate support. Education is the concern of the individual state, as in the United States, and not a concern of the whole Commonwealth. Furthermore, the system of examination by a body outside of the individual college or university which gives instruction — a method obtaining in New Zealand, as in India — does not make a persuasive appeal to the faculties of the individual Australian university. Such a system of examination belongs fittingly to an educational condition loosely organized and administered, and not to a compact, individualistic academy.

Yet the very absence of such a university federation may have helped to originate and to foster the thought of another type of confederate service, — the exchange of professors. The American-French and the American-

German method appeals to the Australian faculty. This method has been applied rather to lectures than to teaching, and for a relatively brief period. It is the thought, at least in Melbourne and Sydney, that the method shall be extended, and the time of service be prolonged, to cover the whole academic year, and to include all the teaching which an individual professor would give in his own university. To make such a complete interchange will prove to be far more difficult than an exchange of three or six months, which represents the delivering of a score or of two score lectures. But the endeavor, both in practice and thought, is symptomatic of the good feeling and fellowship obtaining among the members of these four universities.

The influence of the University of Melbourne and of its sister universities for a half century on the Australian Commonwealth it is difficult to estimate. Such influence is, in Australia, as everywhere, in part at least, atmospheric, and atmospheres are hard for the ordinary mind, without special instruments, to weigh and to measure. This influence has been of personality, and not of the discovery of truth. Pure science still has a small place in Australian thinking. The whole number of graduates is not large,

and the number who go forth at a single commencement is small. Melbourne has only a thousand students, about one third of all the university students of the Commonwealth, including members of the professional schools, as well as those of the undergraduate college. Not more than one-quarter are members of the liberal arts department. More than a quarter are enrolled in the medical school; the remainder are divided among engineering, law, and dental schools. But from year to year these men do go forth from professional school, or undergraduate college, to take their places in the several vocations and many avocations. Few of them enter business. The American tendency of the graduate toward commerce has not yet come into the class room of the Australian college. In fact, the early American prejudice against the worth of the college man in business is strong in the Sydney and Melbourne counting-room and factory, though signs of its lessening are evident. Few, also, become clergymen. The influence of formal Christianity in Australia is small. The pulpit does not attract the graduates. Of all the churches, the Presbyterian is probably the strongest in enlisting able graduates for its service. The medical profession takes some men, and a large number of the

ablest. Teaching is also drawing a few graduates. Up to recent years teaching in Australia did not come under the charge and control of the government. Any man had a right to teach who could find a schoolhouse which would receive him, or pupils who would listen to him. But such individualistic and ruinous methods have now disappeared. Registration at least of those who desire to become teachers is required. The formal recognition of the great profession is making it more acceptable to able and well-equipped graduates. But the profession which in Australia, as in most countries, from the United States to the Isles of Greece, seems to hold out largest opportunities to young men is the law. The two great interests of Australians are sports and politics. The law is not only a good in itself, but it is also the easiest way of becoming either a politician or a statesman, if one have in himself statesmanlike qualities. The work of the graduates of the universities in the various legislatures and in executive service has been and promises to continue to be of the highest value.

Comparative academic history and interpretation is the most valuable of all academic description. I think of the University of Melbourne at once in comparison and in con-

trast with the University of Helsingfors. Each stands in its own land, the one up in the arctic circle, and the other far below the equator ; each in its place and its own way holds aloft the torch of scholarship, lighting the way for its nation to enter into clearer truth and nobler truthfulness, into a larger life and a richer achievement.

XIX

THE IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY OF PEKING

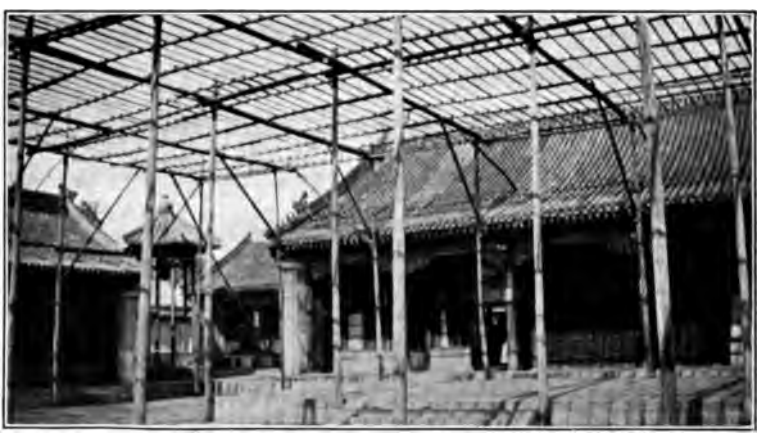
ALTHOUGH new buildings are being erected, yet closely hugging the gray walls of the yellow-tiled Forbidden City still lie the low rambling buildings of the Imperial University of Peking. The verb "lie" more accurately describes the condition than it would most university structures. For like Chinese houses these buildings are usually of one story, seldom of more than two, built about small square courts which open upon each other through broad gateways. Within these gray brick walls are found simple rooms for the giving and hearing of lectures, provided with desks and benches, and also rooms fitted up as elementary laboratories of science. Museums also of a simple character are here established, and a library, too, filled up largely with the soft, thin, many-leaved volumes of the Chinese classics. These buildings, like the older buildings of so many German universities, were made, not for university purposes, but were built as quiet little palaces, simple and unostentatious. As I wandered through these

stone-paved courts and along these cloisters on a golden October day, and met the blue-gowned students walking in small companies, or singly, I was borne over seas to the universities on the Isis and the Cam. How unlike the gardens and the green velvety quadrangle and ivy-covered towers of Oxford and Cambridge were the simple stone floors and courts and brick walls of the Chinese university! Yet some way the general impression and impressiveness of scholarly leisure and the dignified pursuit of learning were the same.

The domestic, or household, character of these buildings is historically significant of the form of Chinese education. For Chinese education has never consisted of many youths summoned into great halls to receive instruction from many teachers. Rather, Chinese education approaches closely to the type embodied in Garfield's well-hewn remark of Mark Hopkins and the log. It has been education, individual, personal, domestic, — the student seeking the teacher, and listening in rapt attention to the interpretations of truth which the teacher gives.

The student, the teacher, the teaching, these in Peking, as in every other, university are the supreme trinity.

The Chinese student, physically, is not robust. He has



University of Peking.

Library.
Physics Laboratory.

the scholar's stoop, and the scholar's paleness of complexion. To him, as to his nation, tuberculosis is a grave peril, tuberculosis affecting other organs as well as the lungs. His life is not wholesome. He sleeps in a small room unventilated and probably with two or three chums. He exercises little. His food is not of that nutritious type which most American students eat. Athletic sports he indulges in, but not largely. Football (association) he plays, and fairly well. As I write I hold in my left hand a programme of intercollegiate sports which includes "the hundred yards dash," "the high jump," "the polevault," "two hundred and twenty yard run," and the "broad jump," as well as a football game.

The mind of the student is by nature better than his body. The Chinese mind is, in its original constitution, one of fairly good strength and fibre, but its original forces have been impaired by centuries of unreasoning education and of enslaving customs. It is a mind given to forms, steeped in formalisms, subjected to precedents, devoid of originality, as the will is of initiative, absorbing fact and fable and fancy, as well as truth, through vast energy and retentive memory. It is a mind of the mediæval type, strong in memory, as it is strong in acquisition. It is a

mind literary, not scientific. For two thousand years the Chinese have not studied science; they have small liking for mathematics; they prefer chemistry to physics; and their liking for physics is measured by the small amount of mathematics included in the subject, — a condition, perhaps, which is characteristic of other minds than the Chinese. It is not an accurate mind. It is, like the Chinese mechanic, content with being and with doing things "about right." It is, be it said, a laborious mind. Thirty or more lectures a week the student attends and takes notes of. The six days of each week — without any Saturday, whole, or half, holiday — are filled with lectures, and the evenings and Sunday are the only time for reading, studying notes, or reflection. The learning and the understanding and the physical writing of this dreadful language is a form of education to which one must give much time and heedfulness. A bottomless pit is this language, for its characters seem endless, and a wide pit it is, for its characters can be combined with each other, like German words, to represent new ideas and conceptions. If a Mandarin Romanized script could be adopted, Chinese education would go forward far less slowly. The Chinese mind would rejoice and sing in its consequent freedom and

growth. Most orderly is the student, perhaps too orderly; polite and reverent toward his teacher he always is. The ordinary Chinese man has in his veins tiger's blood; but within university courts neither quarrelsomeness nor nonsense of any sort emerges. The Chinese student is ambitious. He desires personal advancement. Society is individualistic. Its members desire to become famous. There are two words which represent what the Chinese nation, as a nation, wish above all else to embody: they are "rich" and "strong," — rich in material goods; strong in martial power. The individual is sympathetic with the national concept. His ambition leads him to aspire for influential place. Material wealth and governmental position are at once symbols, means, result of such a place. Such ambition has both its narrow and its broad side. Said a Chinese student to me, burning with desire to serve his people, "It makes one feel good and thankful to be a Chinaman." The good side of this ambitiousness is, I believe, becoming dominant.

The Chinese student, like his people, is loyal to China. He believes in China for the Chinese. He also believes in the Chinese for China. He believes in Western learning less on the whole, though still much, for the sake of the

worth of the Western learning than for the sake of the development of China. He would have his nation build railroads, introduce water systems into the great cities, make the telegraph cheap and the telephone common, wipe out the universal grafting, reform taxation, create a constitution, transform the government into a democracy, as society is already democratic; but he would have all of these methods adopted and these results effected in order to save China unto herself. He would have China become international in order that she may become yet more national. He is both a patriot and an individualist.

Under these conditions the teachers in the Imperial University of Peking and its affiliated schools are gathered from all parts of the world. England, Germany, Japan, United States, provide the larger number of foreigners. These men are called to teach subjects which are foreign to the Chinese mind. These people have a belief that topics foreign to them can best be taught by foreign teachers. As, for instance, they believe that their official foreign office should be built in a foreign style of architecture. English is therefore taught by those who speak English, German by those who speak German, and the sciences and mediæval history, also foreign, by foreigners. Be it said that the

Chinese teachers are held in higher honor than the foreign, though the salary of the native is only one-sixth as great. The number of foreign teachers is to-day smaller than a decade ago, when the great Martin gathered about himself as the head of the university a noble faculty. The rising of 1900 scattered the staff, — one, Professor James, was killed, — and the insurrection put an end to the work which Dr. Martin had in his enthusiasm and wisdom inaugurated.

The range of the course of study is narrow. There is not in Northern China any institution which takes its students beyond the point of learning or of culture represented by the close of the Sophomore year in the better American college. Most of the subjects, except Chinese language and literature, are elementary, and are presented in an elementary way. In respect to the advancement in learning, the Imperial University of Peking is in no sense a university. The general order and relationships of the courses of study are, however, quite unlike the order and relationships maintained in the American college or English university. This result arises in large part from the exclusion of Latin and Greek. For instance, I have heard a lecture on international law given to a freshman

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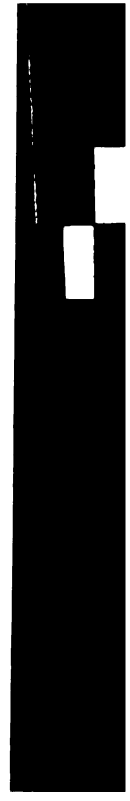
class in history:

1. What lands were reco
under Justinian?

2. What did Justinian do



UNIVERSITY OF PEKING.

DR. W. A. P. MARTIN.

DR. CHENG, PROFESSOR OF AGRICULTURE.

5. Give the chief events in Mohammed's life.

6. What was the Hegira?

7. What lands did the Mohammedans conquer in the first century after the death of Mohammed?

8. Who defeated the Mohammedans at the battle of Tours?

The following questions were submitted in jurisprudence and history:

1. The word "law" being used to denote things so entirely different as *law of gravitation* and *law of England*, explain the two principal meanings of the word and give Holland's definition of the proper sense of the term as used in the science of jurisprudence.

2. Give a short account, with dates, of the voyages and discoveries of Columbus, Vasco da Gama, and Magellan. Who was Amerigo Vespucci? What portions of the American continent have been named after Columbus, and serve to perpetuate his fame?

3. Give a short sketch of the Protestant Reformation and of the counter reform initiated by the Council of Trent.

4. State what you know of the Treaty of Westphalia, and compare it with the great settlement made in 1815 after the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars.

The following questions were submitted in international law in September, 1907:

1. Distinguish military occupation from conquest. Compare the law on this subject at the time of Frederick the Great with the rules of the Hague Conference of 1899.

2. Give a short history of the Republic of Genoa during the Napoleonic wars. . . .

3. What is the *right of search?* Does it exist in time of peace? Distinguish *ransom* from *salvage.* Explain the phrases: *free ships, free goods, enemy ships, enemy goods,* and state whether they correctly express the international practice of the present day.

4. Trace the history of movement in favor of exempting private property at sea from capture, and bring your answer up to date by stating what nations supported, and what nations opposed, the movement at the second Peace Conference of The Hague, which met on July 20, 1907.

Perhaps the least worthy instruction given in the higher education in China is found in medicine. The mediævalism of China receives its most impressive illustration in the character of this teaching. A single fact is profoundly and harrowingly significant. It is the fact that never in

this vast and ancient empire has the human body been dissected for scientific purposes. What more could be said? The reason is manifold. But one cause lies in the superstition that to those who dissect a human body the disembodied spirit might return to afflict and to torture. The medicine which is taught is largely Chinese medicine, and Chinese medicine is a compound of superstitions. It must be confessed that the few attempts made to teach Western medicine have not been conceived in a spirit of scientific or personal honesty. A friend of mine was elected professor in the Imperial University. He was called to teach the three subjects of English, mathematics, and Western medicine. He was told that while he was engaged in his room in teaching Western medicine, in the room adjoining a Chinese professor would be teaching Chinese medicine. While he himself was trying to teach physiology, the Chinese associate would be declaring that man has nine pulses and two hearts. I asked my friend, "Why did they want you to teach Western medicine?" "Show," was his laconic answer. He declined the chair.

One great influence is now emerging to cause the Imperial University of Peking to enlarge and improve its course of instruction. The colleges and schools estab-

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promoted the cause of medical tuitic
Imperial Board of Education given
to this school.

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its relation to the cause of the highe
several characteristics emerge in
These characteristics are largely nee

First, the Imperial Board of Edu
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administrative methods, are frequently made. Such changes interrupt the progress of, and delay advancement in, the cause of education. The highest ideals of one year should be made to obtain consistently and constantly.

Second, a higher appreciation of the worth of learning which is not Chinese should be made. This need is symptomatic of other fields than the educational. China still believes that she is the giant of the world, and that other nations are dwarfs. She needs to be taught humility, intellectual, ethical, religious. This lesson she is learning, but constant reiteration of the teaching is essential. Every Chinese student returning from England or Germany or America helps to inculcate the lesson, as does also every mission college established in Shanghai or Hangkow.

Third, the need of honesty is primary. Chinese education should learn the lesson of accepting and of presenting things as they are. This need is fundamental. Politically China is a nation of grafters. The spirit which prompts men to wear spectacles, sign of the scholar, who have no need of spectacles, is significant of general conditions. Education should and does teach ethical honesty.

Fourth, there is need of especial instruction in at least four subjects:

First, in the sciences, and in particular in training engineers. China has a few, and only a few, good native engineers. These men were largely trained abroad. The demand for good engineers is tremendous, and the opportunity of entering effective service rich. Second, there is also need of special training in psychology. A proper psychology would free the mind from its network of unreasoning superstition. Confucius has dominated, and many would say enslaved, the Chinese mind for more than two thousand years. With all the merit which can be justly attributed to him, it may be said that his books should occupy a less absorbing place in the Chinese curriculum. The books of Ladd, of James, of Sully, are now more important to Chinese than the books of Confucius. Third, there is also great need of instruction in medicine of all branches. Fourth, the need of teaching in the history of education, and in the history of education in its relation to morals and religion, is urgent. To this need the Chinese mind is awakening. In an examination held in Peking in October, 1907, candidates were asked "to name all the oldest educational books that you know in the world." And also, "What have you to say about the Bible as a teaching book?" "Are not the Confucian ethics suffi-

cient for teaching?" In this same examination was also put this general and searching question: In the evidence of "character what have you to say as to (*a*) punishments, (*b*) moral precepts, (*c*) then what forms of instruction are really operative on the life and character of a pupil?" These four needs are of especial significance in the present crisis.

That these needs will be filled, that the University of Peking will cease, or is ceasing, or indeed has ceased, to be a preparatory department, the development of the recent years and months is proving. A friend of mine, Professor Luther Anderson, writes, saying that the University has recently "received enormous grants of money" from the government, has "established more advanced courses of instruction," and opened new departments. Among these departments are: "Law, Commerce, Political Science and History, Natural Sciences, Civil Engineering, Mining and Metallurgy, and Agriculture. In these departments all those branches are studied which would be studied in the corresponding graduate departments of any good American or European university. Other departments will be opened in the near future."

"Large modern buildings," Professor Anderson adds,

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UNIVERSITY OF TOKYO.

XX

THE UNIVERSITY OF TOKYO

THE University of Tokyo as a legally existing institution is a growth; as an agency of teaching and of research it is a made process and product.

As a growth it represents origins going back into the Tokugawa period, and includes institutions of prolonged service. But its own proper existence began as late as the year of 1886 in the union of two colleges. These two colleges, of much earlier foundation, included in one of them departments of law, of science, of medicine, and of literature. For twenty-five years, therefore, the Imperial University of Tokyo has developed. It has added two great departments of engineering and of agriculture. It has extended its work into fields as diverse as an astronomical observatory, marine biological laboratory, botanical gardens, and earthquake observations. It has published many series of monographs upon erudite subjects. It has established a graduate department known as University

Hall. It has increased its number of professors and of students till it has become one of the great universities of the world. Its annual budget represents an amount equal to the annual budgets of the richer American universities, and its buildings are now more than fifty.

Whenever the Japanese wish to introduce a new method, or to lay a new foundation, social or civil, they look about the world to find a model. The Japanese are imitators, but they are also more; they are incorporators. In their incorporation they employ the principle of selection. In the application of this principle of selection, they choose the best for incorporation into their belief and practice. In the lower education forty years ago they turned to the United States for light; but in the higher they looked to Berlin and Leipsic. To Berlin they sent their young men to learn, and from Berlin and other universities they called professors. The organization, therefore, of the University of Tokyo, as of the more lately established University of Kyoto, is German. The German origin is seen, not simply in the architecture, but also in the high requirements for admission, in the ordinary length of the course of residence, and in the dominance of the lecture system and in opportunities for research.

With the German influence has been united the American. But the American influence has on the whole been less pervasive in the higher, as the German has been less pervasive in the lower, education. Brown, Verbeck, of the earlier time, and Mason, Scott, and Murray of the later, gave themselves more to the establishment and reform of the agencies of the lower grade of education than of the university.

The two great significances touching the higher education of Japan, as in certain respects the lower, are the absence of the classical tradition and the absence of all teaching of religion. The difference between Oriental and Occidental education in these respects is fundamental, significant, and impressive. The Anglo-Saxon world has from the revival of letters until the immediate present declared that an education without Latin and Greek was not a worthy education. It made these two languages and literatures the chief content of the course of study for more than three hundred years. Every attempt to dislodge them from their primacy has met with prolonged and determined opposition. In the most famous university of the English-speaking world they still dominate. They have been the nurse of literature; their orations

have inspired eloquence; their essays have quickened highest appreciations; and the Greek tragedies have been the model of the French drama. Their histories have been the source of the noblest historical compositions of modern times, — and in no field is modern literature greater than in the historical. Their philosophy has inspired the thinking of the present world. The culture which they stand for and bestow has been regarded as the choicest possession of the gentleman, and the increase in mental power which they are declared to make has been affirmed to be of the greatest and most lasting worth.

But in Japan and its principal university, Latin is comparatively unknown and Greek is not read. The study of either language may be pursued, but it is pursued by a few only. In all Japan Greek has been studied chiefly as a means of reading the New Testament; it has largely an ecclesiastical worth.

The place which Latin and Greek have held in English and American education for the centuries is in Japan taken by the Chinese classics. The question emerges, Does the higher education or the lower education, does Japan herself, suffer through this substitution? The answer depends upon two things: first, the worth of the content of

the Chinese classics, and, second, on the method of teaching language and literature.

Is Confucius as well worth reading as Plato? Into such a question may the full problem be compressed. To such a question there can be but one answer. The answer lies in the fact that Confucius is chiefly an ethical philosopher; he is concerned with the relations of men to each other and of man to himself. Plato is indeed concerned with this egoistic and this altruistic relation, but also he is concerned with the relation of men to ultimate being. He is a philosopher of the Absolute. The Chinese sage is indeed worth studying; it were well if all Occidental colleges offered a course in his Six Books; it were well if the Occidental world read his volumes. But to me the Greek is as superior to the Chinese as Athens in the time of Pericles was superior to Peking in the time of Confucius.

Therefore the inference is inevitable that the higher Japanese education, and in consequence the Japanese mind, suffers by reason of the substitution of the Chinese classics for the Latin and Greek classics. Furthermore a loss is experienced in respect to the method of teaching Chinese and of teaching Greek. The discipline of the mind arising from the study of a language is great; it represents

many of the most important elements of intellectual growth and strength. No language has so far proved to be so rich in giving intellectual strength as the Greek. I asked one of the greater of the Chinese statesmen educated at Phillips Academy, Andover, and at Amherst College, the question, "What taught you to think?" His answer was, "The study of Greek." A Greek sentence is a composite, the analyzing of which represents intellectual observation, discrimination, judgment. The Greek verb is a composite, representing noblest scientific elements and growths. To know it, to understand its parts, relations, functions, involves intellectual processes of richest value. The study of Greek literature gives culture; the study of Greek language creates power.

No such process obtains in the study of the Chinese language and literature in the schools and colleges of Japan. The method lies in the learning of ideographs. It is largely a training of the memory. The time is devoted to the reading of the great Chinese books accompanied by brief comments of the teacher. Such learning and reading may stand for culture, but they do not create that personal and intellectual element of force which must precede, and is preparatory to, culture.

So far, therefore, the study of the Chinese classics as conducted in the imperial universities of Japan must be affirmed to be no substitute for the Latin or for the Greek as these languages and literatures have been taught in the English and American colleges.

The question might here be asked, What is the effect of the absence of the classical tradition upon the higher educational service of Japan? One effect seems to me to be conspicuous: it is the lack of accuracy in the working of the Japanese mind. That the Japanese mind is not an accurate tool is the usual testimony. This is the testimony of Japanese scholars themselves; it is also the testimony of American scholars who have taught in Japanese schools. The Japanese mind is rather a knowing than a thinking mind. It is rather acquisitive than inquisitive, although in inquisitiveness it is not wanting. It is rather a memorizing than a reasoning mind. This lack seems to me to arise in part from the lack of linguistic training. But it should be added that this defect may have two other sources, namely, the lecture system of conveying instruction, and also the desire of the Japanese students to take too many courses of lectures at one time. The very earnestness of these students tends to make them superficial. The lec-

ture system has many advantages. But if introduced early in the course of education it is in peril of substituting general facts and general knowledge for close study, and it also is in danger of training the memory at the expense of the logical faculties. Furthermore, this peril of the system is enhanced when students attend so many lectures that they have little time left for reading, and less time for reflection. Not a few Japanese students take twenty-five or more lectures a week. The ordinary American student takes twelve or fifteen. I know Japanese students who are attending lectures for no less than six hours a day. Such a method is intellectual gorging, stuffing. This custom arises from the eagerness of the student to clutch and to cram. It is bad physiology; and it is worse psychology.

The second fundamental difference between the higher education of Japan and the higher education of the Occident lies in the absence of all religious teaching. The great religious systems of Japan are Buddhism and Shintoism. Shintoism is the religion of the court. Christianity has also a place in Japan. Its place is not large, but, though its place be small, its influence and significance are great. All teaching of all religions is forbidden in government schools. As a professor in the university said to me,

UNIVERSITY OF TOKYO.

Committee Compiling Materials for History of Japan.
Pathological Lecture Room.

himself a graduate of an American Christian college, "No other method than prohibition can be followed." The differences of religious beliefs obtaining among professors and students render the inculcation of any one faith impossible. Japan gives freedom to all religions. It gives precedence to none.

Professors in the Imperial University at Tokyo and at Kyoto are not usually the declared adherents of any faith. They are neither Christians nor Buddhists nor Shintoists. They are, however, as a body, in sentiment and feeling, Christian. They are also, like many of the nation, inclined to say that neither American nor English nor German Christianity is Christ's Christianity. Christ's Christianity, they declare, consists of two principles: supreme love to the Supreme Being and love to man. The diverse Christianity of the nations has become cumbered, it is argued, with materialistic and metaphysical speculation. But intellectually most of these teachers would affirm that they were agnostics. Their personal belief is that if one rightly adjusts himself to the finite he will be able also to relate himself properly to the infinite. The Japanese mind of every order is rather practical than speculative.

As a type of the German university Tokyo labors under two conditions which prevail in Germany, and which are of special significance to American students and teachers. One of these conditions is the lack of dormitories. The five thousand or more men of the University of Tokyo are scattered up and down the little streets of the capital. The university assumes no responsibility for them outside the Red Gate. The Japanese student is less mature than the German, and bears responsibility for himself less worthily. He needs moral supervision. But he also needs the advantages of close fellowship. It is to be remembered that students educate each other intellectually. The student of economics aids his fellow-student in getting a moral adequate conception of the problems of economics. The same method obtains in each subject. Mental attritions help to make education. Such relationships Japanese students lack, and lack them more than do even Munich or Heidelberg students; and they form a lack which no worthy seminar helps to supply.

Private dormitories, however, are helping to make up this institutional and personal lack. The Young Men's Christian Association of Toyko has built several dormi-

tories, and hopes to build many more. They are designed for all students, not only for those of the Imperial University, but also for students of Waseda University and of other private and public institutions. The conditions of life, physical and moral, of these dormitories, usually called hostels, are far superior to those which obtain in most other houses open to students. These dormitories are built, as are most Japanese houses, of wood, and their construction is of a very slight sort. The fear of the earthquake is constantly before the builder and the dweller. The rooms are small, like most Japanese rooms, and the living arrangements are simple, as is also characteristic of all Japanese living. These hostels usually accommodate about thirty students. Their cost is some $6500 each, and the cost of board and room per month is about $5, all of which represents Japanese economy and efficiency. In fact, $150 a year would be regarded as a liberal allowance for meeting all expenses.

A second difficult condition under which the professors, as well as the students, of the University of Tokyo labor also refers to a personal relationship. It is the relationship between the professor and the student. Any personal relationship between the professor and the student

is anywhere hard to maintain, but is especially hard in the case of a large number of students. "I have three hundred students in my class," said a Tokyo teacher to me, and he added with a sense of regret, "What can I do for knowing or helping the individual man?" In this condition education is in peril of becoming simply instruction, and instruction of a type which does not result in the making of mind or character.

The Japanese student has three chief characteristics: he is a man rather of learning than of thinking, he is ambitious, and he is enthusiastic in his work. The training of the power to think is uncommon enough in all colleges of the entire world, but in Japan it seems to be especially lacking. The Japanese are inclined to interpret education in terms of knowledge. As thinkers they are in peril of being superficial, desultory, ineffective. As students, they are inclined to read without reflection, to listen without proper appreciation, and to take notes of many lectures without sufficient meditation. To them education is altogether too constantly, as well as just before examination, a cramming. But they are enthusiastic in their work. The excess of enthusiasm may be a cause of the superficiality of their thinking.

The individual student is, like the nation, determined to get the most in the shortest time. He lives in his heart. He reflects in his emotions. Furthermore, he is mightily ambitious. He is eager to attain unto the highest. The type of ambition is rather noble than mean. He is determined to serve his Emperor, his nation, and the whole brotherhood of the race. This condition of ambition, which is usually supposed to be characteristically American, is as truly Japanese.

There are certain specific advantages which the Japanese universities have conferred and which in kind they will still continue to give. They elevate the cause of scholarship by giving to, or demanding of, their teachers a high social standing. A professor in the University of Tokyo represents a specific social rank: he can be chosen only from a certain order; and, once chosen, his social rank is equivalent to that of a member of the Supreme Court. The more pleasant is it to make this remark, for salaries are small, running from a minimum of $1000 to a maximum of $2000 for native professors, and to higher sums for foreign teachers. A pension system serves to augment this annual income, which becomes available after fifteen years of

service. The retiring allowance usually amounts to one-quarter or one-third of the regular stipend.

But there is one peculiar difficulty under which the professors in the Japanese universities and higher schools labor: it is a lack of a fit audience in their own country and the world for their monographs publishing the result of their researches. The department of biology is one of the most famous in the University of Tokyo. But only a few, very few, of Japan's fifty millions care for the publications of this department, and the number who read these papers is small indeed. But, be it said, a fit audience these scholars themselves are making for each other; and the great scholar in his own studies and researches is with increasing influence seeking and finding his critics and companions among the scholars of all races.

But, in a large way, the University of Tokyo is influencing the whole nation. This university trained the physicians and surgeons who helped the nation to defeat Russia in the last great war. Waterloo was no more truly won on the playing fields of Eton than Mukden was won in the laboratories of the medical department of the University of Tokyo. Tokyo and the com-

panion university at Kyoto have contributed some ten thousand men to the service of the higher interests of the community and of the state through the medical and other professions.

In the higher education, as in the lower, as also in most of the movements of Japan, the inspiring force is found in a personal loyalty to the Emperor. The desire to obey his commands, to heed his wishes, is the chief desire of the Japanese. As Viscount Kaneko said to me, "I want to be a loyal subject of my Emperor, and to serve humanity." What the Emperor wills, the people will. He wills war, and the people become soldiers and sailors, victors on sea and land. He wills education, and the people will to be educated. In the Imperial Rescript of 1872 the Mikado said, "It is designed henceforth that education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family, nor a family with an ignorant member." The University of Tokyo has in ways large and ways small, and always with loyalty to high ideals, sought for almost forty years to secure this comprehensive and significant result.

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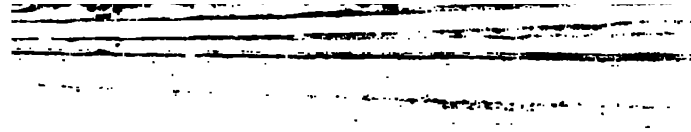

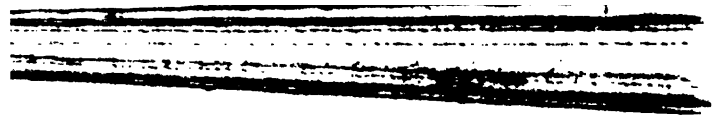

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